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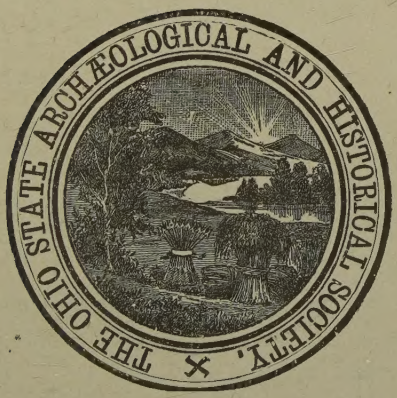

COLUMBUS:
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The Executive Committee is the direct governing authority of the Society, and meets once a month at Columbus.

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PREFACE TO VOLUME VIII.

THE eighth volume of the publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, which is herewith issued in book form, includes the Quarterlies of the Society heretofore published as No. 1, volume VIII, for July, 1899; No. 2, volume VIII, for October, 1899; No. 3, volume VIII, for January, 1900; No. 4, volume VIII, for April, 1900.

The contents of this volume speak for themselves. The demand for the publications of the Society increases greatly each year. They are now sent to all the leading libraries of the country as well as the prominent historical societies. These volumes, however, it should be distinctly understood, though published under the auspices of the State are not for gratuitous and miscellaneous distribution, as are many of the state reports.

The Seventy-fourth General Assembly (January-April, 1900) made a special appropriation for the purpose of supplying the members with ten complete sets of the eight volumes of the Society. Two previous legislatures made similar provision.

These annual publications give ample evidence of the valuable character of the work the Society is accomplishing and of the personal interest and efficient care and management given its affairs by the Trustees and Officers.

E. O. Randall

Columbus, Ohio, August, 1900. *Secretary.*

Louis Zimmerman
Treas.

OHIO
Archaeological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS.

THE SEPARATIST SOCIETY OF ZOAR.

AN EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNISM — FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO ITS CONCLUSION.

BY E. O. RANDALL, LL. M., SECRETARY OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

It is somewhat singular, if indeed not really significant, that just at this time while the views of Edward Bellamy[1] are attracting world-wide attention and receiving an enthusiastic acceptance almost startling in its extent, one of the most complete and perhaps most thoroughly tried applications of the so-

[1] Edward Bellamy, born Chicopee Falls, Mass., March 26, 1850; died same place, May 22, 1898. Author of "Looking Backward" (1889) and "Equality" (1897). Editor "The New Nation," established January, 1891. These works advocate a socialistic communism. Bellamy's books reached a sale of hundreds of thousands and some four hundred papers and periodicals have been established devoted to his theories, while thousands of clubs and societies have been formed throughout the country promotive of what is called the Nationalistic Movement, which in certain sections has taken an organized political character, leading to the formation of local, state and national parties. The Nationalistic Movement does not at once demand the adoption of the perfected ideal scheme as described in "Equality," but tends towards an Utopian commune, to be preceded "by the nationalization of industries, including as minor applications of the same principle, the municipalization and state control of localized business."

cial scheme of communism has reached a termination and, a self-confessed failure, has passed out of existence, as to its communistic feature, and that too after a duration of more than three quarters of a century, a continuance apparently under the most favorable circumstances.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY.

The history of this communistic experiment is a sociological study, both important and instructive. It is the history of the Separatist Society of Zoar. As religion was the fundamental basis of the organization, the object of its formation, the cause of its emigration to this country, and a prominent element in its operation and final failure, some considerable space is devoted to this component of the Zoar Colony. As is well known to every reader of history, the reformation in Germany in the sixteenth century resulted in the springing up, throughout the fatherland, of innumerable anti-Romish sects. This was especially true in those countries where the union and united oppression of the church and state had become unusually obnoxious and tyrannous. The Kingdom of Württemburg became one of the hotbeds of the revolt against popedom and churchdom, and for three or four centuries before the reformation, Württemburg was noted for the reformatory activity of its people.

While following the leadership of the Wittenberg Monk, Württemburg became, not only the stronghold of Protestantism, but also a prolific breeding ground for countless religious independents, and also for an innumerable variety of sects and creeds. As early as 1544, two years before the death of Luther, a preacher of Waiblingen complained that there were as many sects in Württemburg as there were houses. The Lutheran Church became the church of the state, and the orthodox clergy supported by the compliant government, stood up, of course, resolutely against the dissenting and independent religionists. Among these numerous heterodoxies the Pietists constituted one of the strongest and most influential religious parties—they were hardly an organized sect—but were antagonists to the state church. This sect, or rather theological school, owed

its origin and growth to the writings and teachings of Johann Arndt (1555-1621), Johann Andreä (1586-1654) and Frederick Christoph Oetinger (1702-1782). The latter was an enthusiastic disciple of the mystic philosophy of Jacob Boehm (1575-1624). Oetinger's heterodoxy fostered a species of dissent known as Separatism. The Separatists rejected baptism, confirmation and other ordinances. They declined to do military duty or take the legal oath, and refused to remove their hats to their designated superiors—they had no superiors in their own estimation, as all men were equal before the Lord. They would not permit their children to attend the public schools, which were conducted by the Lutheran clergy. Disobedience to the conventional forms of the regular church and the dictates of the ruling state, naturally brought the Separatists into conflict with the government. They were insulted and persecuted. They were brought before the civil authorities and punished with floggings and imprisonment. Their houses and lands and personal property were confiscated; their children were taken from them and sent to orphans' homes or other public institutions. In short, an intolerable and bigoted oppression of the Separatists prevailed, just as two centuries earlier the Puritans of England were persecuted by the Protestant King James.[2] There was

[2] The interesting fact should not be lost sight of that while the prime purpose of the expedition of the Mayflower (1620), under the reign of King James I, was for religious liberty, the financial plan and practical working of the Pilgrim Forefather settlement was a phase of communism. The Leyden Emigrants having no means of transportation and being scarce of funds, entered into a hard bargain with one of the English Colonizing Companies of London. "In their arrangements for the voyage, and the business foundation and management of the colony," the Pilgrims formed a communistic co-partnership. The Plymouth Company of London, comprising some seventy merchants, handicraftsmen, etc., "which raised the stock to begin this plantation," had an original capital of some seven thousand pounds, divided into shares of ten pounds each ($50.00). This company was to furnish the Pilgrims transportation and land for settlement. The Pilgrims were to go as planters or pioneers—they were to become stockholders by virtue of their services or contributions. "The shares were ten (10) pounds each. For every person going, the personality (that is, from sixteen years of age) was accounted one share for him and every ten pounds put in by him (in funds or property) was accounted an additional share." This co-part-

no alternative for the Separatists but to suffer or flee the country. They were forced to emigration. The first of these Separatist departures to America was under the leadership of George Rapp, the eloquent weaver-preacher of Iptingen, Württemburg. He first gathered a small congregation in his own house in 1787. He and his followers were duly fined and imprisoned when in 1804 some six hundred of them, mainly mechanics and peasants, landed in Philadelphia and finally located on the Ohio river some twenty miles northwest of Pittsburg, in Beaver county, Penn., where they purchased some five thousand acres of wild land. They called the place of their settlement Economy, and they "formally and solemnly organized themselves into the 'Harmony Society,' agreeing to throw all their possessions into a common fund, to keep thenceforth all things in common; and to labor for the common good of the whole body."[3]

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nership was for seven years. During this time the Pilgrim colonists were to be supported out of the common colony property. At the end of the seven years, all the possessions of the colony, with everything gained by them, were to be equally divided among the whole of the stockholders—London capitalists as well as Pilgrim colonists. Such was the contract, the essence of which was co-partnership in interest and a communism in support and subsistence. One of the earliest studies, therefore, in this country of the relations of capital and labor is offered in the establishment of the Plymouth colony. In 1623 the colonists raised funds through English friends and bought out the London stockholders in the company, and the Pilgrims thus became possessed of all the stock and property of the company.—[Pilgrim Fathers, G. B. Cheever, page 107.]

[3] The Harmonists or Rappists, as sometimes called, remained in Economy ten years and then moved to New Harmony, Indiana, remaining there till 1824, when they sold their land to Robert Owen, the scientist and philanthropist, author of "New View of Society" and "The Book of the New Moral World." For three years Owen tested his socialistic theories at New Harmony when the experiment became unsuccessful and was abandoned, Owen returning to England, his native country. The Harmonists (1824) returned to Economy, which has ever since been their abiding place. They suffered many vicissitudes, dissensions and desertions. Several times seceders established other communistic societies. The Harmonists at Economy numbered at one time over a thousand members—and in their palmiest days were reported possessed

The company that comprised the Zoar colony departed from Württemburg in April, 1817. A few months earlier several of their number were sent to Antwerp to engage a ship to transport them to America. They chose as their leader one Joseph M. Bäumler, which name was later changed for the sake of English euphony to Bimeler and is so known to-day in Zoar and elsewhere. Bimeler was of humble and obscure peasant origin but a man of unusual ability and independence, a teacher, a natural leader and a fluent speaker. He easily became by common consent the guide and mentor of a large following. There were some three hundred in this pilgrim company. They were from the poorer class of their countrymen. Many were unable to pay their passage, which was provided for by some of their more fortunate companions and material assistance was rendered to these religious emigrants by the sympathizing "Society of Friends," the Quakers of England. The journey of the Separatists lasted some three months, and the voyagers landed in Philadelphia on August 14, 1817. They were kindly received in the City of Brotherly Love by their friends, the Quakers, who provided a large building in which the Separatists could remain until departing for their western home. As further acts of aid by the Quakers, it is related that the "Society of Friends" in England had sent a considerable sum of money to America for the use of the worthy but destitute Württemburgers—a sum amounting to about eighteen dollars for each Separatist. This fund was given the recipients upon their arrival in Philadelphia and was used later to send them on to their destination in the Tuscarawas Valley. As most of these emigrants reached Philadelphia "in an im-

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of property valued in the millions. They made large real estate investments which proved exceedingly profitable, for the coal mines, oil wells, etc. They built up large industries, shipping their goods throughout the country. The past few years they have rapidly declined. They number now less than a dozen members. Their manufactories are mostly abandoned. Their property has been mainly sold and that remaining has greatly depreciated in value and is more or less encumbered. The society has practically lost its co-operative character and its fate as a communistic society will doubtless be at no distant day that of its kindred at Zoar.

poverished condition," this Quaker beneficence came to them like an act of Providence and the Separatists have always preserved a warm spot in their hearts for the generous and sympathetic Quakers. They tarried in Philadelphia several months, during which time Bimeler arranged for the Ohio settlement. He purchased of one Godfrey Haga a tract of five thousand five hundred acres of land, a military grant in the wilderness of Tuscarawas county. He was to pay three dollars per acre, giving fifteen hundred dollars cash —(loaned, it is said, by their Quaker friends)—and his (Bimeler's) individual notes for fifteen thousand dollars, secured by a mortgage on the land for that amount, to be paid in fifteen years, the first three years to be without interest. This transaction was solely in the name of Bimeler, but with the understanding that each member of the society should have an interest therein proportionate to the amount he might contribute to the payment for the land. Bimeler, with a chosen few of his company, went out to take possession of this purchase December, 1817, when the first log hut was erected, others rapidly following, on the site of the present village of Zoar.[4] The colonists were as fast as possible to cluster their humble homes about this chosen center, after the custom of the German peasant farmers who settle in a common locality rather than scatter their dwellings upon their respective and more or less distant farms.

In the succeeding spring (1818) the colonists then remaining in Philadelphia went on and took up their abode at Zoar —that is all that were able to do so. Many were too poor to reach there without assistance and a large number were compelled to take service with neighboring farmers to earn support for themselves and families. They were almost wholly unskilled workmen and many delayed their journey at an op-

[4] Zoar was, as may be surmised, so named from the ancient town on the shore of the Dead Sea, a city described in Genesis as "a little one" to which Lot was permitted to take refuge in his flight from Sodom. The choosing of this name is indicative of the religious character and purpose of the Separatists. They have generally been known as "Zoarites."

portune station to acquire a knowledge of some useful trade or calling.

This Separatist emigration had been primarily for the purpose of securing religious liberty; secondarily for better opportunities of obtaining a livelihood. They had thus far no intention of forming a communistic society; they held their interests individually, and it was expected that each member should pay for his own share of the land, which had been secured by Bimeler to be subsequently divided and sold among separate purchasers. But the members were unequal in age, strength, experience, energy and enterprise. They soon realized that their individual inequality stood in the way of the collective success of the company. "Having among them a certain number of old and feeble people and many poor who found it difficult to save money to pay for their land, the leading men presently saw that the enterprise would fail unless it was established upon a different foundation; and that necessarily would compel the people to scatter." Early in 1819 the leaders, after consultation, determined that, to succeed, they must establish a community of goods and efforts, and draw into themselves all whom poverty had compelled to take service at a distance. This resolution was laid before the whole society, and after some weeks of discussion was agreed to; and on the 15th of April articles of agreement for a community of goods were signed. There were then about two hundred and twenty-five persons, men, women and children.[5]

These articles of association were dated April 19, 1819, and were signed by fifty-three males and one hundred and four females. The articles created a common unity of interests, present and prospective, whereby all the property of individual members, and their future earnings, should become the common stock of the association, to be taken care of and managed by directors to be elected annually by the members.[6]

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[5] Nordhoff, Communistic Societies in the United States, page 101.

[6] The articles of association entered into by the society were prefaced by the following preamble: "The undersigned, members of the Society of Separatists of Zoar, have, from a true Christian love towards God and their fellow men, found themselves convinced and induced to unite

In March, 1824, amendatory articles[7] containing features similar to but more extended than those of 1819, were drawn up and signed by about sixty males and one hundred females,

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themselves according to the Christian Apostolic sense, under the following rules through a communion of property; and they do hereby determine and declare that from the day of this date, the following rules shall be valid and in effect:"

1. "Each and every member does hereby renounce all and every right of ownership, of their present and future movable and immovable property; and leave the same to the disposition of the directors of the society elected by themselves.

2. "The society elects out of its own members their directors and managers, who shall conduct the general business transactions, and exercise the general duties of the society. They therefore take possession of all the active and passive property of all the members, whose duty it shall be at the same time to provide for them; and said directors are further bound to give an account to the society of all their business transactions."

The other articles relate to the duties of the members of the society, the adjustment of difficulties which may arise among them, and an agreement that backsliding members cannot, either for property brought in, nor for their labor in the society, demand any compensation or restitution, except under the order of a majority of the society.

5 McLean, page 224.

[7] "We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Zoar and its vicinity, etc., being fully persuaded and intending to give more full satisfaction to our consciences, in the fulfillment of the duties of Christianity, and to plant, establish and confirm the spirit of love as the bond of peace and union for ourselves and posterity forever, as a safe foundation of social order, do seek and desire, out of pure Christian love and persuasion, to unite our several personal interests, into one common interest, and, if possible, to avoid and prevent law suits and contentions, or otherwise to settle and arbitrate them, under the following rules, in order to avoid the disagreeable and costly course of the law, as much as possible. Therefore, we unite and bind ourselves by and through the common and social contract under the name and title of "The Separatist Society of Zoar," and we agree and bind ourselves, and promise each to the other and all together, that we will strictly hold to, observe, and support all the following rules and regulations. New articles, amendments, or alterations, in favor of the above expressed intentions, to be made with the consent of the members.

"We, the undersigned, members of the second class of the Society of Separatists, declare, through this first article, the entire renunciation and resignation of all our property of all and every dimension, form

under which articles, with those of 1819, the affairs of the Society were thereafter managed. On February 6, 1832, the Society was incorporated under the then existing laws of Ohio,

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and shape, present and future, movable and immovable, or both, for ourselves and our posterity, with all and every right of ownership, titles, claims and privileges, to the aforesaid Society of Separatists, with the express condition that, from the date of the subscription of each member, such property shall be forever, and consequently also after the death of such member or members, remain the property of the said Separatist Society."

Directors were to be elected by the society, who were authorized to take all the property of the individual members and of the society into their disposition, and to hold and manage the same expressly for the general benefit of the society, according to the prescriptions of the articles. They shall have power to trade, to purchase and to sell, to conclude contracts and dissolve them again, to give orders if all of them agree, with the consent of the cashier, who was to be elected by the society. They were "to appoint agents and to conduct the entire provision of all and every member in boarding, clothing and other necessaries of life, in such proportion as the situation, time, circumstances may require." And the members bound themselves to obey the orders and regulations of the directors and their agents. The children of the members, during their minority, were to be subject to the control of the directors, but without the votes of a majority of the society, they cannot bind apprentices out of the association.

The directors are required to take charge of inheritances of deceased members as universal heirs, in the name of the society; to investigate and settle disputes among the members, an appeal being allowed to a board of arbitrators, which was to be elected and to consist of from one to three persons. The arbitrators were bound to observe the economy of the society, and give orders and instructions, to investigate accounts and plans which may have been made by the directors and their agents. All transactions, exceeding in amount fifty dollars, to be valid, required the sanction of the board of arbitration. This board had also the power to excommunicate arbitrary and refractory members, and to deprive them of all future enjoyments of the society.

New members were to be admitted, being of full age, having been approved of by the directors and board of arbitration, by a vote of two-thirds of the society; and on condition that they should resign all their property to the society, as had been done by the original members. Directors and arbitrators were to be elected as often as shall be deemed necessary by the society. "The highest power shall be and remain forever in the hands and disposition of the society, who reserve the right at pleasure to remove and to establish officers, or to place others in their stead; in short, to make any alteration which may be deemed best."

by the name of "The Society of Separatists of Zoar." This conferred upon the Society the ordinary and usual powers of a corporation, with perpetual succession, with power to hold property, purchase and sell, pass by-laws, etc.[8]

On May 14, 1833, at a meeting of the members of the Society, called in pursuance of said act of incorporation, an organization was effected and a constitution adopted for the government of the Society, under which its affairs have ever since been regulated. All the members under the articles who remained in the Society at the adoption of the constitution, became members of the Society in its corporate capacity.

According to the constitution[9] of the Society adopted under the articles of incorporation (1832), the members were divided into two classes, the novitiates and the full associates. The novitiates were obliged to serve at least one year before admission to the second class and this applied to the children of the members, if on becoming of age they wished to join the Society. The full associates must be of legal age, the males twenty-one and the females eighteen. The members of the first or probationary class did not give up their property. A child of a member or an incoming outsider, wishing to enter the Society, was admitted to the first class if the officials of the Society found no objection. Later on the candidate made application for full membership. The trustees would formally receive this request, inquire into the case as far as seemed necessary, and if no cause to reject was presented, they there-

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The cashier was bound to keep all the funds of the association, and to apply all moneys which may come to his hands, by the orders of the directors and arbitrators, to the benefit of the society—to pay its debts and to liquidate its general wants."

And it is agreed that individual demands by backsliding members, or such as have been excommunicated, whether such demands may be for goods, or other effects, or for services rendered to the society, are abolished and abrogated by the members themselves and their posterity. These articles are declared to be confirmatory of those of 1819, and extending to a more detailed explanation.

5 McLean Reports, 225.

[8] Vol. 30, Ohio Laws, page 92. (See p. 77 this article.)

[9] This constitution will be found in full on p. 79, etc.

upon would, by posting his name in the public meeting room, give thirty days' notice to the Society of the time and place at which he was to sign the covenant. At the appointed date he would subscribe to the constitution[10] and yield up to the Society any and all property he might then possess. It was not required that he have any property, but he could not be admitted if he were in debt.

Strangers who came to Zoar for admission during the probationary year received food, clothing and lodging, but no payment. During the early years of the Society many friends and relatives of the first comers emigrated from Germany and joined the colony. Very few other foreigners became converts. Occasionally an outsider would enter the community because of marriage to a member. But outside accessions or conversions were exceedingly few. No native American is known to have entered the Society.[11] According to the constitution of the Society, all officers were elected by the whole Society, the women voting as well as the men—all elections being by ballot and a majority vote. The government of the community vested solely in a board of three trustees (or directors) to serve three

[10] The covenant the elected subscribed to was as follows: "We, the subscribers, members of the Society of Separatists of the second class, declare hereby that we give all our property, of every kind, not only what we already possess, but what we may hereafter come into possession of by inheritance, gift, or otherwise, real and personal, and all rights, titles, and expectations whatever, both for ourselves and our heirs, to the said society forever, to be and remain, not only during our lives, but after our deaths, the exclusive property of the society. Also we promise and bind ourselves to obey all the commands and orders of the trustees and their subordinates, with the utmost zeal and diligence, without opposition or grumbling; and to devote all our strength, good-will, diligence, and skill, during our whole lives, to the common service of the society and for the satisfaction of its trustees. Also we consign in a similar manner our children, so long as they are minors, to the charge of the trustees, giving these the same rights and powers over them as though they had been formally indentured to them under the laws of the state."

[11] An old member stated that a "Yankee," by which he meant a New Englander, lived with the colony several years, but never became a legal member.

years each, one to be elected annually.[12] These trustees had unlimited power over the custody and management of the property, and all the temporalities of the Society, but were bound to provide clothing, board and dwelling for each member, "without respect to person"; and to use all means confided to their charge for the best interests of the Society. They had the management of all the industries and affairs of the Society. They designated to each member his especial work. But in this they consulted the inclination and peculiar abilities of the member, endeavoring to fit each man into the place for which he was best adapted. The trustees appointed the subordinates and superintendents of the different industries and departments of labor. This board of trustees, which might be called the administration committee, was accustomed to hold monthly meetings in which foreign and home affairs were considered and transacted. Beside this ruling board of trustees there was a standing committee or council of five, one member being elected each year. This standing committee or council was the supreme judiciary or board of arbitration of the Society. It was the high court of appeals in cases of disagreement, dissension and complaint. This council had power to excommunicate arbitrary and refractory members, and to cross out their signatures and deprive them of all participation in the affairs of the Society. It was agreed that all disputes should be settled by arbitration alone and within the Society. The trustees endeavored to act at all times in harmony with this council. The Society elected once in four years a cashier or treasurer,[13] whose duties were those of secretary and treasurer. He had sole and exclusive control of all the moneys of the Society, the trustees being obliged to hand over to his custody all they received. He kept the books and had immediate oversight over the business transactions of the Society. There was also an elected officer known as the Agent General,[14] who acted as the trader to buy and sell for the Society in its dealings with the outside world, make and conduct contracts, etc. The office of Agent

[12] See Constitution, Article II.

[13] Article V of the Constitution.

[14] Article III of the Constitution.

General was, when created, regarded as the position of honor and influence in the Society, and to it Joseph Bimeler was elected. It was the one office he held and he continued in it to his death, after which the office always remained vacant. The duties of this office were subsequently performed by the cashier or one of the trustees. The time and place of an election by the Society were made public twenty days beforehand by the trustees and five members were chosen at each election to be managers and judges. The office of president was unknown. The constitution was read in a public and general meeting of the members of the Society, at least once every year, at which time the villagers met and discussed and acted upon their affairs much as was the custom in the New England town meetings. So far as Zoar had any political form of procedure, it was a pure democracy.

THE RELIGION OF THE ZOARITES.

We have already alluded at some length to the religious origin in Württemburg of the Separatists as a sect. We can not properly study the Zoar community without a thorough understanding of their religious faith and practices.

The "Principles of the Separatists," which were set forth in the works of Joseph Bimeler, were evidently framed in Germany. They consisted of twelve articles, as follows:

"I. We believe and confess the Trinity of God; Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

"II. The fall of Adam, and of all mankind, with the loss thereby of the likeness of God in them.

"III. The return through Christ to God, our proper Father.

"IV. The Holy Scriptures as the measure and guide of our lives, and the touchstone of truth and falsehood. All our other principles arise out of these, and rule our conduct in the religious, spiritual, and natural life.

"V. All ceremonies are banished from among us, and we declare them useless and injurious, and this is the chief cause of our Separation.

"VI. We render to no mortal, honors due to God, as to uncover the head, or to bend the knee. Also we address every one as 'thou'—*du*.

"VII. We separate ourselves from all ecclesiastical connections and constitutions, because true Christian life requires no sectarianism, while set forms and ceremonies cause sectarian divisions.

"VIII. Our marriages are contracted by mutual consent, and before witnesses. They are then notified to the political authority; and we reject all intervention of priests or preachers.

"IX. All intercourse of the sexes, except what is necessary to the perpetuation of the species, we hold to be sinful and contrary to the order and command of God. Complete virginity or entire cessation of sexual commerce is more commendable than marriage.

"X. We can not send our children into the schools of Babylon (meaning the clerical schools of Germany), where other principles contrary to these are taught.

"XI. We can not serve the state as soldiers, because a Christian can not murder his enemy, much less his friend.

"XII. We regard the political government as absolutely necessary to maintain order, and to protect the good and honest and punish the wrong-doers; and no one can prove us to be untrue to the constituted authorities."

Joseph Bimeler was not only their leader and guide to this country, but he was their priest and prophet, if such they had. Bimeler was their spiritual leader and preacher, not by any formal authority, but merely universal acquiescence. The standard, and indeed the only theological literature of the Zoarites, consists of the works, or rather printed discourses, of Bimeler.[15] They are in three large octave volumes, the first four parts having the common title:

[15] On the subject of the faith of the Zoarites I have made free use of a little German Pamphlet, by Karl Knortz: "Aus der Mappe eines Deutsch-Amerikaners." Bamburg, 1893. Herr Knortz carefully examined the works of Bimeler and in his pamphlet gives a summary of many of Bimeler's views.

THE TRUE SEPARATION

OR

THE SECOND BIRTH.

SET FORTH IN

BRILLIANT AND EDIFYING CONVENTION SPEECHES

AND

MEDITATIONS.

PERTAINING ESPECIALLY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

HELD IN THE COMMUNITY OF ZOAR IN 1830.

PRINTED IN ZOAR, O., 1856–1860.

These ponderous volumes of theological thought and religious reflection are in German and have never been translated. The original copies are rare; very few Zoar families possess a copy. The last two parts bear the title:

SOMETHING FOR THE HEART

OR

SPIRITUAL CRUMBS

FROM THE TABLE OF THE LORD.

GATHERED

BY A DEVOUT SOUL

AND COMMUNICATED WITH THE INTENTION OF A BLESSED ONE.

CONSISTING

OF A COLLECTION OF EXCERPTS OF MANY FORCEFUL SPEECHES AND OBSERVATIONS;

PARTICULARLY DIRECTED TOWARD THE INNER LIFE

PUBLICLY HELD AND READ BY A FRIEND OF GOD IN TRUTH IN ZOAR.

ESPECIALLY ADAPTED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

PRINTED IN ZOAR, O., 1860–1861.

Besides the history of Bimeler's separation, these works contain speeches, which the Zoarite teacher made before his people, in a language which was clear and easily understood, although not always correct. According to the testimony of the publisher, they are to be considered as direct manifestations of the Holy Ghost, as Bimeler never studied or committed his utterances. In his opinion, the separation of the people, who had inwardly renounced the world and received Christ into themselves, from the false Christians, was a necessary postulate in the interest of the salvation of the former. In the same manner, it was necessary to declare war on the official clergy, who were called "lazy and useless servants," and of whom it was said, that by their empty, ceremonious trifles they deluded the people and kept them from entering upon the road of truth.

From these speeches, a truth-loving, believing Christian, as well as a true and honest character speaks to us and all living Separatists, who had listened to the sermons of Bimeler, have unanimously declared that he lived up to his teachings. In his speeches, which abound in hints for the practical life, we now and then meet with declarations which would greatly honor a modern progressive theologian. Thus, for instance, he says that the religious needs of mankind are not the same at all times and that, therefore, divine revelation progresses and assumes a character adapted to existing conditions. Bimeler preached from 1817 to 1853, that is, to the year of his death. He did not write his speeches down, and the same would probably never have been printed had it not been that a patient and dutiful youth of Zoar had written them down from his memory at the request of his deaf father, who did not attend the meetings. This work the son performed during the night, as in day-time he had to follow his accustomed occupation. His memoranda embrace the time from 1822 to 1832. In the last mentioned year the reporter died, but happily there was another young man who possessed the necessary clerical skill to save Bimeler's meditations from oblivion. When the founder of Zoar died (1853), there was not a man in the whole colony who could fill his place as speaker. For a time they read to each

Former Residence of Joseph Bimeler.

other from good books, but as is said in the preface to Bimeler's Meditations, by the compiler, "It was not quite so agreeable."

So the Separatists resolved to have Bimeler's speeches printed, that they might be read at their services. They also believed it would be a great sin, if they did not put to the best possible Christian use the good which had been entrusted to them. They therefore purchased a hand-press; and as they found no one in Zoar who knew how to use it, they engaged a practical compositor and a printer, who were charged with superintending the printing of the work. The second publication which was issued from the hand-press of the Separatists at Zoar, is a collection of poems or hymns by Terstegen, the mystic poet of the Reformed Church (1687-1769). Terstegen's collection was used by the Zoarites in their church services. The works of Bimeler and Terstegen were the only productions of the Zoar press. The printing outfit was subsequently sold and removed from the village.

The Zoarites firmly continued in their view, that everlasting happiness could not be attained by outward ceremony, which rather led people astray. Therefore, the Württemburg school teacher, Bimeler, made it his purpose to bring light to the true teachings of Christ and to proclaim them courageously to his followers. As the preface of Bimeler's sermons says: "Christianity must be a thing of the heart. Man must divert himself of his bad qualities and of his passion, and deny his own vicious will and subordinate it to God in order that the old Adam die in him and Christ may arise anew."

The Separatists were fond of designating themselves as those who have found the way that leads to eternal life.

The sermons of Bimeler profess to proclaim true Christianity and their author was considered the mouthpiece of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, it is the latter that speaks in these books and not the founder of Zoar, who is nowhere mentioned. Bimeler used to say, before he commenced his "meeting speech": "When I come here, I generally come empty, without knowing whereof I am going to speak. I first get an inspiration what and of what I am going to speak, but as soon

as I commence to speak an infinite field of ideas opens before me, so I can choose where and what I like and what seems to me the most necessary."

In these speeches Bimeler showed how man, after he leaves the state of innocence, starts on the road of nature which leads him to eternal damnation. But, if like the lost son, he turns at the right time and cleanses his heart by penitence, he is again taken into the community of God.

Bimeler is very severe in his treatment of the official preachers, "who enter the pulpit only for the wages and for the comfort of life it affords, and who promote the hypocritical worship and ceremonies, and he reproves them for withholding intentionally from their flocks the true Gospel." He boldly stated the clergy were the pensioners of the state. That they did not get their knowledge from God, but had learned it like a trade in the schools. They explained the letter of the text, but felt not its spirit. They preached for compensation and were given to arrogance and hypocrisy.

Bimeler's speeches contain lessons on morality, temperance, cleanliness, health, housekeeping, etc. As Bimeler possessed a certain amount of medical knowledge, some of his discourses even describe "the inner parts of the human body," in order to show what influence the immoderate use of food and drink may have on them. Bimeler is very liberal towards worldly science and does full justice to its progress. Besides, it is everywhere noticeable that he, unlike most of his colleagues, was an educated, well read and, in many respects, an unprejudiced man. He possessed not only great talent, but a vast fund of knowledge.

For the traditional Christian holidays, he did not have much respect, as he thought one day as sacred as another. Sunday he did not even consider a day of rest, because, as he remarked, the crops sown on that day did just as well as those sown on any other day. If nature makes no distinction in this respect, it was not necessary for man to do so. Time should always be used to the best advantage. The Zoarites worked on Sunday when occasion required, but in late years generally observed the day as one of rest. In spring one should sow, and

in summer assist the crops so that the weeds would not outgrow them. In fall, the crops should be gathered, and winter should be used to prepare for the spring work. The lessons of the seasons Bimeler also applied to the spiritual life of man. His parallels in this respect are distinguished from other similar teachings by their wealth of original and practical thought.

His speeches, however, lack logical construction. "The most heterogeneous subjects are often thrown together higgledy-piggledy, which is especially annoying, because there is no connecting thread. But this fault may be chargeable to the amanuensis who certainly was not a stenographer."[16]

The Separatists of Bimeler's school, like most other Separatists, were inclined to chiliasm.[17] In course of time, however, they came to the conclusion, that the kingdom of God would not come outwardly, but inwardly, and even then slowly and by degrees. A state of grace could only be gradually attained by sincere repentance; just as a person could not exchange his sick body for a sound body by legerdemain. A new heaven and a new earth can be created only, if by the killing of the old Adam we ourselves become new. If the latter is not done, a new heaven or earth are of no use to us.

But Bimeler does not put all the blame on old Adam, for he believes that all men have a desire to taste of the tree of knowledge. Adam consequently acted simply according to human nature. He was just like men nowadays and had his bad and good qualities, the same as they are found in all other products of nature, such as plants, animals and minerals.

Nor does Bimeler think much of foreign missionary work, because, he thinks, it is much more important for a true Christian to do this missionary work at home. The professional missionaries only make nominal Christians and hypocrites, who may be able to recite the confession of faith, but otherwise know as little of Christ's plan of salvation, as they do of the man in the moon.

In regard to marriage, which is always a vexed question in

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[16] Karl Knortz.

[17] The doctrine that Christ will reign on earth a thousand years visibly and personally before the end of the world.

the confession of faith of the separatists, Bimeler does not always express himself as clearly and distinctly as he really intends. But this much is sure, he did not consider the married state absolutely sinful, as he himself was married and the father of several children. He said he knew, that many believed him opposed to marriage, but added, that if it enhanced the happiness of people, he had nothing against it. Moreover, such happiness was only temporary and ended with death. But he wished that the endeavor of men was principally directed towards acquisition of eternal happiness. A chaste life is therefore preferable, because through marriage sin with all its sad consequences is perpetuated. The married state could only in very rare cases be called sacred.[18]

Many of the members of the original company were opposed to the institution of marriage and decided to make celibacy obligatory in the society as had Rapp with the Harmonists. Bimeler himself at first supported this view and taught that God did not look with pleasure on marriage, but that He only tolerated it; that in the future world there would be no marrying or giving in marriage; that "husband and wife and children would not know each other" in heaven as there was no distinction of sex there. For the first ten years of the society therefore Bimeler opposed marriage and it was prohibited until about 1828 or 1830, when Bimeler was smitten with the charms of one of the comely maidens who was an inmate of his household and whose duty it was to wait upon the spiritual and temporal head of the Society. They were married and this wedding and example of the leader led to the abrogation of the anti-marriage rule and the previous celibate practice of the Society. The benedict Bimeler, consistent with his new and happy state, then freely advocated marriage as shown by his discourses.

With regard to education, Bimeler says many things that deserve notice. As a good example is much more efficacious than words, he exhorts parents to lead an exemplary life, whereby they can influence their children better than by the everlasting admonition to pray and to attend prayer meetings, which fills them only with abhorence for the Word of God. Prayers at stated hours

[18] Karl Knortz.

do not at all promote the fear of God, because, if one is not in the right humor, they are easily regarded as a troublesome function. Prayers must be short. Long prayers are an abomination. Bimeler himself did not pray, at least not outwardly, but inwardly, "in spirit and in truth." All prayers must come from the heart, free and unforced. Therefore prayer books are not only unnecessary but injurious to the true Christian, because they "promote babbling with the mouth." Bimeler sincerely appreciated the freedom, which obtained in American school and educational matters, and the fact that there was no attempt made to prejudice the young mind against any social or religious tendencies. The youth are permitted to attain their majority, when they may choose for themselves. This is entirely in harmony with the divine intention, according to which men are created free and which does not favor any creed that may have been created, parrot-like, during infancy. Bimeler was a decided admirer of the republican principle of government and he demanded what was perfectly in harmony with it, the subordination of the individual will to that of the whole, as otherwise in a community like Zoar peace and harmony might be easily disturbed.

As all strife of the world may be traced back to selfishness, man must restrain love of self in the interest of all which, however, few will try and fewer still achieve. But it is said, "Love God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself," and the latter is only possible through restraint of self-love, which, therefore, is a divine commandment. It is easy to love God, it is harder to love one's neighbor. But as men are one family the individual has no right to refuse to love his neighbor. The Separatists therefore took as their model the first Christian community of Jerusalem, where all were one heart and one soul. There was no compulsion there. But as soon as Christianity adopted compulsory means for its preservation, it began to decay. In a communistic colony there are neither poor nor rich. In the outer world there is wealth, and poverty, of which Bimeler prefers the former, because in its proper application it may conduce to much happiness, while the latter often produces many sins and much misery.

Bimeler nowhere appears as a zealot or fanatic and with the exception of the clergymen, whom he thoroughly hates, he con-

demns nobody, because we only see the acts of men, but not their motives. Nor is he an admirer of blind superstition; and wherever there is a chance, he praises the advance of science, because it improves the condition of everybody. Every new invention he hails with sincere joy. He always speaks like a loving father to his beloved children. He never acted toward his people in a tyrannical manner as Father Rapp (of the Harmonists); he exhorted but did not punish, and if some one differed with him, Bimeler did not for that reason expel him from the community.

Like Father Rapp, Bimeler had declared war on tobacco, without, however, entirely prohibiting its use; as he never demanded servile obedience, which would suppress individual views. Everybody should reflect for himself on all questions of life and form his own independent opinion. Therefore he says:

"We must be glad, that God has led us out of our former fatherland, which is kept so much under pressure and servitude. We should rejoice and thank God with all our heart, that He has freed us from that servitude, and brought us hither, where we can serve our God without hindrance and molestation, according to our conviction and conscience. You know, my friends, in Germany they did not allow us to do so, and therefore we had no other choice but leave the country and seek a livelihood somewhere else. This was the reason why we came to America. It was not selfishness, nor greed, nor avarice, nor desire for any easy life, that caused us to emigrate. No, no such base motives led us to this step. If either of these had been our motives, as is the case with thousands of emigrants, we would not be so peaceful and satisfied within ourselves, as we indeed are, because we know that our motives were, as above mentioned, a desire of a free practice of our principles. And I do not believe, my friends, that we should have attained our aim, if we had been guided by those ignoble intentions."

The old piety which was cultivated by Bimeler and his original followers had to give place in Zoar to ideas more adapted to the present world. But in spite of all that, the Separatists of the third generation until recently (as stated by Herr Knortz) still sang the favorite verses of the old Separatists, one of which verses was:

Yearning is the soul in me
After peace,
That my troubles, stilled by Thee,
Soon may cease.
Lead me, Father, out of harm,
To the quiet Zoar farm,
If it be Thy will.

LEGAL STATUS OF THE SOCIETY.

Much speculation at various times was indulged in concerning the legal status of this society; its character as an organization and the legal relationship of its members to the Society. In several instances the courts were called upon to consider these questions. Members who were deprived of supposed rights, or who had been expelled, at different periods in the history of the society, resorted to the law for remedy. Two of these cases became famous and important as legal precedents. In the April Term, 1851, a suit was brought by John G. Gösele and others in the Seventh Circuit Court of the United States.[19]

John Gösele was one of the original Separatist emigrants and continued as a member of the Zoar community until his death in 1827. He was a subscriber to the association articles of 1819 and 1824, but died before its incorporation. His heirs, John G. Gösele and others, brought this suit for a partition of the Zoar property and the restitution to them of their ancestor's distributive share. This raised the question of the nature of the contract entered into by the members and also the character of the organization under our laws. Did the Society constitute a joint tenancy or a perpetuity in property, both of which our laws forbid? If such was the contract it should be declared null and void. Or was the scheme some legal form of a partnership, and if so, did the death or withdrawal of a member destroy this partnership, and compel or permit the distribution of the co-partnership property. And how did the laws governing real estate descent apply to the lands of the community?

[19] John G. Goesele et al. vs. Joseph M. Bimeler et al., 5 McLean Reports, 223.

"The rights of the plaintiffs in this suit rested upon the contracts before the incorporation of 1832. They claimed: 1, that there was no grantee (of the lands); 2, that if there were a grantee, the grant would be void as a perpetuity. To this the court, in its opinion, replied that the lands were purchased by Bimeler for the Society, were paid for by it, and were held in trust by him; the fee was in him and the members of the Society were the *cestui que trusts.* It was admitted that an unincorporated community could not, in its aggregate capacity, take lands in grant, nor could its directors and their successors in office take them, as the law, under the circumstances, recognizes no succession. A valid grant to such a community would only be made to the individuals composing it, or to an individual and his heirs, in trust for its use. The articles of association constituted a declaration of trust, which Bimeler, the trustee, recognized as binding upon him. This declaration did not require the formalities of a grant; it was in writing and the application of the trust being distinctly stated, it was not affected by the statute of frauds and perjuries. The members of the Society agree with each other that their property of every description should be held and used as a common fund for their general benefit and they appointed certain agents to manage their concerns and provide for their support. It is true, they relinquished to the Society their entire property, but it was done that, as a community, they might enjoy the benefits of the whole. The aggression which they established relieved the members generally from personal care, but the sum of their enjoyment was not lessened. The want of capacity in the Society, as deeds to take by grant, does not invalidate this procedure. The agreement was that the equitable individual right to the trust should be relinquished for a common right with the other members, to the entire property. In effect, it was constituting a universal partnership, known to the common law and which is not in violation of any of its principles, the name of the Society was used as a designation of the whole body, the same as the assumed name of a firm to designate its partners. Individuality of membership of the property then possessed by the members of the association

was abolished, and also future acquisitions for the common right of an interest in the whole. This common right was limited to the members of the association; consequently those who left it, or were expelled, forfeited such right. * * * * By this arrangement, the members of the association were placed on an equality as to their interests in the property and their enjoyment of it. Their minutest wants were alike provided for, through the agency established; and this was the consideration on which the contract was founded. That, in the absence of all fraud and unfairness, this was a bona fide and legal contract, cannot be doubted. An important part of this contract was that the property thus surrendered should belong only to the members of the association; consequently the heirs of the members could not claim an interest in the property as heirs, but only as members. Against such a disposition of property, I know of no principle of law or morals. Any individual has the power to divest himself of his property, real and personal, for a valuable consideration.

"Gösele and the other members, when they relinquished their individual property for a common interest in the whole, and appointed agents to manage the concern, expressly agreed to receive as a consideration for their property and labor a support for themselves and their families, including clothing and every other provision necessary for their comfort. * * * * It was a partnership agreement among themselves, and was binding upon each individual who entered into it.

"If there be no principle of law opposed to such a community of property, it must be held valid on the rules which apply to partnerships. There was no moral considerations opposed to it. In adopting it, the Separatists Society followed the example found in the early history of the Apostles, and which received a lawful sanction of heaven.

"But it is said that this association contemplates an enjoyment of the property in perpetuity; that those who shall become members of it, through all time shall enjoy it, and that this the law will not permit. * * * * It must be observed that title (to the land) vested in the trustees from the date of the deed; and the common use, in the society, as fully when

the articles were agreed to, as was contemplated at any future period. It is true that the association could only be perpetuated by the admission of new members. But such admission is not obligatory on the Society. An applicant to become a member must first apply to the directors, who bring his case before the board of arbitration, and pass their examination. If admitted, it must be on the condition that he shall relinquish his individual property to the members of the association, and with them enjoy a common benefit in the whole. This is a matter of contract at the time, as it was at the formation of the society. The perpetuity then, is not created by the first contract, but depends upon subsequent contracts, which may or may not be entered into. No right is derived or can be claimed under the articles of association until the individual shall have complied with the conditions of his admission. He then becomes a partner in the association, and is subject to the original articles, not from any instrinsic force in them, but because he has adopted them by contract. Here is the origin of his right, and of his obligation, and the question may well be asked, is this a perpetuity? If it be a perpetuity, it is a perpetuity that can extend beyond lives in being, only by voluntary contracts. * * * * This association, in principle, does not differ from any other partnership, where the members create the capital by giving up their property to the concern, living upon their profits, applying their surplus to an increase of capital, and receiving new members on the terms of the original association. This, if carried out, may endure for many generations, but it is not a perpetuity, which the law prohibits. The enjoyment of the right, on condition of continued membership, has no necessary connection with a perpetuity. If the condition be broken by a member, it depends upon the individuals and the Society whether he shall be restored or not. * * * * For the reasons stated, I think the agreement entered into by the members giving up their individual interest in the property for a common interest in the whole of it, so long as they shall remain members, is not void in law."

The federal circuit court decided the case for the Society

and against the contestants. They appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, when it was tried in the December term, 1852, Roger B. Taney being then Chief Justice. The interests of the Society were defended by no less distinguished advocates than Henry M. Stanberry and Thomas Ewing. Mr. Stanberry, in a very learned brief, argued that the association was not a simple pure partnership, liable to the incidents of such and subject to the operation of all the ordinary causes of dissolution—viz: that it might be dissolved by the first death which happened among its members, and was capable of dissolution and partition of its real estate, at any time at the instance of any member. "The original agreement provides," he said, "for a perfect community of property, real and personal, and for a succession or survivorship among members on the Tontine principle. It guards with great care against the dissolution of the body. * * * This was not a mere partnership, nor the members tenants in common. The agreement for community of property, the mutual surrender of all individual property into the common stock and the express stipulation against any reclamation in the case of withdrawal, and for the preservation of the common property, for the exclusive use and perpetual enjoyment of the members, in succession, are inconsistent with the incidents of mere partnership or tenancy in common.

"But, is is said, there are legal difficulties which the agreement of the parties cannot surmount. That upon the death of a member, the Society was dissolved *ex necessitate*. This consequence, though generally true as to partnerships, does not follow where the agreement provides against it. It is not an inevitable consequence. The doctrine of dissolution upon the death of a partner, only obtains where the deceased partner has a continuing interest in the property or profits of the association. It is not just that the surviving partners should be obliged to carry on the business, without his co-operation, for the benefit of his estate.

"I have said this Society was not an ordinary partnership, It very closely resembles that sort of partnership in the civil law which is called universal. "Universal partnerships (*des so-*

cieties universelles) are contract by which the parties agree to make a common stock of all property they respectively possess—they may extend it to all property, real or personal, or restrict it to the personal only. They may, as in other partnerships, agree that the property itself shall be common stock, or that the fruits only shall be such; but property which may accrue to one of the parties, after entering into the partnership, by donation, succession, or legacy, does not become common stock, and any stipulation to that effect, previous to the obtaining of the property aforesaid, is void.'

" 'An universal partnership of profits includes all the gains that may be made, from whatever source, whether from property or industry, with the restriction contained in the last article, and subject to all legal stipulations between the parties.' * * * This association is a general partnership, with the principle of survivorship ingrafted upon it. In this particular it takes the character of a Tontine, which is a society with the benefit of survivorship, the longest liver taking the common property in absolute ownership. * * * * I can see no objection to this provision as to ownership. Certainly as to personalty there can be no difficulty; but it is said, in so far as the real property of the company is concerned, there can be no joint tenancy, no right of survivorship, in Ohio; and that upon a death of a member, his interest in the real estate passes to his heirs at law, and that at any time the right to partition might be asserted. * * * * There is, then, no objection to survivorship by express limitation or agreement. This being so, there has been no descent of any heirs of the deceased members of the society, and there is no present right of partition in any of the living members.

"Objection is also made to this association, that the principle of community and succession of property among the members, involves a *perpetuity*. There is nothing like a perpetuity in it. The society has the perfect right of disposal over all its property, real as well as personal, and this power of disposal is wholly inconsistent with the idea of perpetuity, which only exists where the property is so limited that no living agency can unfetter it.

"It is further urged that this Society is contrary to the genius of our free institutions—that its constitution enforces perpetual service and adherence to a particular faith, and that it is aristocratic in its tendency.

"If there were anything in such objections, the constitution answers them all. So far from being at all aristocratic, this Society is a pure democracy. All the officers are chosen by ballot, every member, male and female, have an equal voice; and the body of the Society reserves to itself the power of removing officers and changing the form of government at pleasure. All distinctions of rank or wealth are abolished, and a perfect equality provided for. No single dogma in religion or politics is announced, no unusual restraint on marriage, nor subserviency to any doctrine out of the common way, exist; and so far from any enforcement of perpetual service being provided for, the right is reserved for every member to retire from the society at pleasure, with the single condition that no claim is to be set up for services or property contributed. The powers which the Society confides to its officers are temporary, and so distributed as to prevent any one member or officer from engrossing too much power.

"Besides this liberal frame of government, the constitution, by very full enactments, provides for the education of the children, the comfort and support of all the members, and the peaceable settlement of all controversies by domestic tribunals. It is impossible to hold that such a constitution is contrary to public policy, or in any sense illegal. To say that such a society cannot exist under our form of government is a libel on our free institutions.

"This is not a perpetuity in the common law sense of the term, it does not tie up real estate, for it may be disposed of at any time. Such a limitation of the real estate, or its proceeds, would be good, by the laws of Ohio, for the lives in being; and each tenant for life, by his own signature, if the full estate at any time vested in him or them, could equally well transmit it to another life, and so in succession, a majority being at all times able to terminate the succession at pleasure."

Justice McLean delivered the opinion of the court in which

he said that "according to the plan of the Zoar articles that Gösele renounced individual ownership of the property and an agreement was made to labor for the community in common with others, for their comfortable maintenance. All individual right of property became merged in the general right of the association. He had no individual right and could transmit none to his heirs. It is strange that the complainants should ask a partition through their ancestor, when by the terms of his contract, he could have no divisible interest. They who now enjoy the property enjoy it under his express contract. * * * * This was a benevolent scheme and from its character might properly be denominated a charity. But from the nature of the association and the objects to be obtained, it is clear the individual members could have no rights to the property except its use, under the restrictions imposed by the articles. The whole policy of the association was founded on a principle which excluded individual ownership. Such an ownership would defeat the great object in view, by necessarily giving to the association a temporary character. If the interests of its members could be transferred, or pass by descent, the maintenance of the community would be impossible. In the natural course of things the ownership of the property in a few years, by transfer and descent, would pass out of the community into the hands of strangers, and thereby defeat the object in view. By disclaiming all individual ownership of the property acquired by their labor, for the benefits secured by the articles, the members give durability to the fund accumulated, and to the benevolent purposes to which it is applied. No legal objection is perceived to such a partnership. If members separate themselves from the Society their interest in the property ceases, and new members that may be admitted, under the articles, enjoy the advantages common to all."

A subsequent suit[20] was begun in the common pleas court of Tuscarawas county, carried through the circuit court and finally decided in the Ohio supreme court in the December term, 1862. That case was brought by John Gasely and his wife Anna Maria Gasely. Anna Maria, with her father, was one of the emigrants

[20] Gaselys et al. vs. Separatists' Society of Zoar et al., 13 Ohio State, 144.

of 1817, John Gasely was also a member. They were married in 1830 and signed the articles in 1833. In 1845 John Gasely was expelled from the Society, "for just and sufficient cause," it is claimed, and his wife, Anna Maria, "was compelled to leave also or abandon him and their children, which she was unwilling to do." The petition of the Gasely's was for their distributive share of the Zoar property. In this case also the Supreme Court of Ohio sustained the contract upon which the community was based.

PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

The location of the settlement of Zoar was well chosen on the east bank of the Tuscarawas river, in the northern part of the county (Tuscarawas) where the stream flows through a valley fertile in soil and rich in scenery. The Ohio and Erie canal[21] passes near by and the town is a station on the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad. Alighting from the train one seems to have left the modern American civilization and to have suddenly dropped into a little German village that dates its origin to a century or more ago. One of the county highways passes through it and forms its principal thoroughfare called Main street, and the only one having a name — and running almost due north and south. The village consists of not more than seventy-five buildings — of various shapes and sizes — and scattered irregularly upon eight or nine streets, two of which on either side are parallel to Main, the other four crossing these at right angles and extending east and west. Excepting Main, the streets are narrow and unimproved, there being no curbs or gutters, and on the side streets no distinctive walks unless created by packed ashes or gravel, making a footway slightly raised above the level of the road. There was no system of sewage or drainage — though water was brought into the village by piping from a spring on the hill north of the urban limits; water was thus conveyed to one or two public drinking troughs, but it was generally not carried into the houses. Zoar seemed to studiously avoid modern conveniences. Particularly did it shun light; at some of the street corners a wooden

[21] The Ohio and Erie Canal was built 1825–1833 and extends from Portsmouth to Cleveland.

lamp post stood like a lonely and almost useless sentry, as the apparatus for illumination was either wanting or impaired. But there would seem to be little or no need of village lights as the good people had rare occasion to "go out o' nights." The streets, however, were cleanly; the village for the most part had a trim and swept appearance, characteristic of the German habit. The garbage of the dwellings was gathered each day in a wagon and carried off. The home interiors were scrupulously scrubbed and dusted. The total population did not exceed 300 including the Zoarites proper and the employed help. The natives lived in some forty dwellings — a fewer number than usually obtains in a settlement of an equal number of inhabitants. Many of the domiciles were double and accommodated two or possibly three families. The other buildings were for public or common purposes, — factories, barns, store-houses, hotel, town hall, church, schoolhouse, etc. The living houses were of various ages and styles — antiquity prevailing. Some of the log cabins still stood in part— if not entire — mementoes of the pioneer life of the Society. The later frame structures were a story, a story and a half, in a few instances, two stories high. There were a few old time red bricks with heavy beam lintels. These homes though indicating the strictest economy in construction and form were comfortable; the rooms were usually large, square and low, the windows often placed high up and small; the chimnies were often those of "ye olden tyme." There were no cellars and no garrets. The floors were mostly bare or partially and cheaply carpeted. The furniture was simple, sparse, heavy and time-honored. Pictures and ornaments were few and far between. A rigid plainness existed throughout these humble homes, nor was there any variation denoting different degrees of comfort or means as one sees in every other village. There was an undeviating sameness in the mode of living.

The houses stood close to the street, upon which the steps often projected, but in nearly every instance an extent of yard surrounded the house on the sides and rear. These yards were invariably utilized as vegetable and flower gardens. Each family mainly raised its own vegetables though the more common ones were supplied by the Society. Flowers in great profusion was

Old and New Hotel.

the one and almost the only æsthetic feature of Zoar domesticity. But the flowers were mostly the old fashioned sort. "Roses red and Violets blue, and the sweetest flowers that in the forest grew." In some cases the homely walls of the antique homes and the lattice of the open porches which many had, were decorated with climbing foliage and creeping flowers. Their devotion to floriculture was evidenced by public recognition, in the maintenance of a flower garden or park situated in the center of the village, facing on the main street and occupying a full square, an acre or more of ground. In the midst of this space was an arbor uniquely devised by spruce trees so planted and trimmed as to form a tree cabin, in which were wooden seats — offering a most suitable trysting place for the Zoar Romeos and Juliets. From this bower, so curiously combining art and nature there radiated, like spokes from a hub a series of narrow walks flanked with beds of blossoms and rows of small shrubbery. This garden was the special pride and pleasure of the villagers and from time memorial has been cared for by some member especially delegated as the gardener. It has been the admiration of all visitors and the subject for many an artist.

The other picturesque characteristic of the village were the old, red, heavy, trough-shaped, tile roofs that covered many of the buildings. At one time the manufacture of these tiles was an industry of the Society, but long since the market for these obsolete goods ceased.

Near the garden, lofty stone steps ascending to the entrance, was the conspicuous dwelling of the village — the former residence of the leader, Joseph Bimeler. This edifice, often designated by the visitors as "the palace," was a spacious basement and two and a half story, cupola surmounted, red brick mansion; a two story, colonial columned portico extended the full width of the front. It was erected in 1835, a few years after the marriage of the founder of the Society — in those days a most costly and pretentious establishment and certainly not only far beyond anything in its locality, but quite equal to the best western manorial homes of its age and generation. This semi-official residence was given a somewhat villa like appearance by the ample grounds on

either side, in which flowers and small fruit flourished in great profusion. The interior arrangement was in accord with the striking exterior architecture. Here Bimeler lived until his death in 1853. Bimeler taught equality of life and in his discourses played the part of a "great commoner," but this comparatively aristocratic abode — so far in excess of anything any of his associates occupied — rather suggests the suspicion that the disciple of democratic commonality was not averse, even at the expense of the community, to enjoying some exclusive luxuries. At times, however, this conduced to criticism and even open charges, particularly from those who withdrew or were driven from the Society. It was claimed by the Gösele contestants that Bimeler was making a good thing out of his prominent position and that the Agent-General traveled about in "a gay and brilliant equipage that flashed and spun," consisting of a fine carriage and span of speeders. This imputation was not sustained and it was proven in the trial that the carriage was a very ordinary one, "worth only about three hundred dollars," that one of the horses cost about twenty dollars and the other thirty or forty dollars. It was unmistakeable however that Bimeler did ride about with his wife — while his equals footed it. But it is also true in extenuation of this privilege—unenjoyed by other Zoarites—that he was permanently lamed by a broken leg, his carriage conveyance being necessary. But beyond doubt Bimeler seasoned his plain thinking and simple teaching with no slight flavor of high living, but that seems to have been willingly and cheerfully allowed by his contemporary people. Undisputed tradition and the universal testimony of the aged members, still living, who remember Bimeler, deprecate any aspersion upon the character, morality, honesty or sincerity of precept or practice of their founder and acknowledged superior. With just cause they all respect and honor his memory as an able, just and true man — devoted to the welfare of his fellow-members. This official residence for the past few years has been used in part as living quarters for some of the families and in part as the storehouse or repository for the goods to be distributed to the members, groceries, clothing and living necessities. To this building on (two) designated days of the week the villagers would go to procure their supplies — each family being allowed ample quantity

of the articles supplied, both food and such things as were furnished for the housekeeping. No account or reckoning of this distribution was kept by the society — or its officers — with any individual member. This at first always surprises the thoughtful visitor and appears to be a gross laxity of business procedure, but there was no need of "bookkeeping;" there could be no charge against, or credit to a member and hence no balance to be struck. What was the property of one was the property of all. The trustees allotted the proper portion to each individual or family. Each person was permitted two suits of clothes a year. The material would be submitted in a limited variety and quality; each would select the cloth and the tailors made the men's suits and the seamstresses the women's dresses. Often the women made their own dresses and knit their own stockings and those for the men. In former years the attire of the Zoarites was nearly uniform, being very simple and eccentric in style, somewhat after the fashion of the Quakers. But now-a-days their apparel is much the same as one might see in any American village. They are neat in appearance and their clothes are kept in better order and repair than is usually the case. The women wore the homely sun bonnet. Luxuries, such as jewelry and ornamental articles of dress were, of course, unsupplied and unworn. Each man was however entitled to a plain, silver watch and watch and clock repairing was one of the assigned occupations.

Until recent years the material for their clothing was almost entirely made by the Society. They raised their own flax and wool and in their mills wove both woolen and linen cloths; this was done to the extent of selling these goods in large quantities to outsiders. These factories were both closed at the date of my visit. For some time they had ceased to export their fabrics, but on the contrary had purchased the material, at least in part, for their own clothing. The Society could buy cloth cheaper than it could make it. Indeed this was true of nearly all their industries which formerly were numerous and flourishing and not only produced all necessary commodities for their comfortable existence, but also afforded large and profitable commerce with the outside world. Their location upon the Tuscarawas river gave them a valuable and unfailing water power and they had two large flour mills, a

saw mill, planing mill, machine shop, tannery, dye house, stove foundry, cooper shop, woolen mill, brewery, slaughter house, blacksmith shop, tile works, pottery, etc. In all these concerns when in successful operation the best of goods were produced both as to quality of material and honesty of manufacture, and their goods were eagerly sought by foreign customers. But during the present generation these enterprises have declined and ceased to be profitable — the age of invention and improvement in machinery, the multiplicity of outside manufactures and the fierce contest of competition had undermined and crushed many of their manufacturing interests. The Zoarites are not a progressive people; they do not keep pace in their business methods with the times— the changes in appliance and the modes of conducting commercial affairs became too rapid for their adoption, and from being producers they have become consumers, relying mostly upon the outer world to supply their needs.

Up to a few years ago they obtained the hides from their cattle and made their leather for their shoes; that was long since abandoned, as they could buy leather for less than the cost of making; and their chief shoemaker informed them that they were foolish to continue making their shoes, as they could obtain them ready made better and cheaper. But he added, "We have not the money to buy all them things, so we keep on making our clothes and shoes." Formerly it was the rule that the members get an order from the trustees on the shoemaker for their shoes. Latterly this has not been required. One needing "foot gear" simply resorted to the shoe shop, had his measure taken and patiently bided the time of the leisurely cobbler. For many years in the past the Zoar shoe shop did a thriving business with the outside countrymen. But now the shrewd farmers buy the machine made article, elsewhere, for less money.

The stove foundry long ago closed up—the stoves cast were grotesquely large and cumbersome. When the sale for the original pattern ceased they attempted to make no others. The stoves outside might grow light and graceful and economical in the consumption of fuel, but the Zoar heaters remained large, heavy and homely as ever.

The machine shop, planing and saw mill were all in op-

eration, as was the larger flouring mill, the latter under the management of Peter Bimeler, a direct descendant in the third generation from the noted Joseph. This mill is most picturesquely located just south of the village on the main road from Canal Dover. It is not far from the river and the mill race runs through a cluster of noble and venerable forest trees, while across the roadway and upon the slope of the hill are the home and grounds of the miller, just named. His house is famous for containing a pipe organ, made entirely by Mr. Peter Bimeler. The wind department of the instrument is ingeniously run by a cable extending to the mill and propelled by the same power that drives the grist wheels. Mr. Bimeler is not only a genius in invention and mechanical construction, but also he is one in music. Without ever having had any instruction from professional or amateur teachers, he plays readily and most skillfully the most classical and the most popular music. It has been remarked that music seems to be the only direction in which the Zoarites display any talent, but that, it may be said, is common to the German people. There were, however, no educated musicians in Zoar. Worldly music was prohibited by the more fervid in religion. They used a hymn book, but sang sparingly in their church services. They had for some time maintained an orchestra, which, I was told, did most creditable work. It was led by Mr. Louis Zimmerman, the energetic secretary of the Society, and an accomplished musician. Mr. Zimmerman seemed to be the promoter and leader of whatever social life Zoar could boast. The Zoar brass band was an institution of some years' standing. I did not see a piano nor an organ in any of the houses, save that described above and the one in their church. I was much entertained one morning by watching a band of four or five Italian musicians, tambourine and banjo girls, led by the inevitable organ grinder, as they strolled and played through the village. The children flocked to hear the music, much as children do anywhere, but there were no demonstrations of joy or glee, and greatly to the disgust of the players, who evidently did not understand the peculiar character of their audience; there were no pennies thrown; "not one cent for

tribute"—it was not a cash community—strange anomaly, money did not circulate in that civilization. Music, nevertheless, timid and primitive as it seemed to be, constituted apparently the only form of recreation in which Zoar ever indulged.

The hum-drum of Zoar life was relieved during the summer months by the visitors who frequented the place. Zoar is a favorite destination for excursion parties and these are accommodated in a large and attractive grove called the Park, just west of the village and overlooking the valley and river of Tuscarawas. This custom of permitting and even encouraging visitors is an innovation of late years and one not calculated to advance the welfare of the community, which is thus brought in contact with the outside life and a phase of it not always the most desirable. The Zoar people in their life were almost devoid of amusements. Their religion prohibited dancing; they had no social nor literary nor even musical entertainments. Such a thing as a lecture or concert or public entertainment of any kind seemed to be, nay was, entirely foreign to Zoar. Nor so far as I could learn had they any diversions in the home circle. Nor did they seem to miss the pastimes of modern society. Perhaps their life, free from care, worry and hurry, and excessive physical labor and mental exertion required little or no relaxation. Their temperament, moreover, was sedate and stolid. They showed less sense of humor than the German generally manifests. Though on the other hand they were uniformly affable and good natured, perhaps more so than the average German. Occasionally a gleam of facetiousness would break through their earnest conversation. One would imagine that their isolated and fraternal form of life would intensify sociability; probably it did; they knew each other as one family and owing to their close and continued contact many families were intermarried. Marital relationship and proximity of residence is not always promotive of friendliness, but the Zoarites constituted to an exceptional degree a happy family.

My first visit was made in the summer of 1898, after their determination to divide the property and dissolve the Society, but some months before either of those purposes were accomplished. Preparations were in process for the distribution, such

as the surveying and appraising of the land. The old regime of the society was still in full force, but they were inclined just then to be some somewhat suspicious of visitors from fear of interference with their affairs or the acquiring by outsiders of information which they did not wish imparted to the public. It was in the afternoon that I arrived at the Zoar hotel, an overwhelmingly large hostelry for so small a town. The old hotel, erected half a century ago, stands on the main street, and extending east on the corner for fully a hundred and fifty feet, has had added to its front a modern structure three stories in height and containing some fifty commodious rooms. A wide veranda surrounds the new addition on the west front and south side. This new wing was added some five or six years since to accommodate the large number of summer boarders who frequent Zoar to spend a longer or shorter time enjoying the beautiful scenery, the rural drives of the surrounding country and the quaint and quiet life of the village. The old landlord greeted me respectfully, but hardly with that personal zeal and financial interest usually displayed by the professional hosts in their new guests. From majority he had been allotted to "run the hotel." He was moreover a trustee of the society and a man of unusual general intelligence and special knowledge of the affairs of the Zoarites. The hotel corps, cooks, waiters, etc., were assigned to their duties as their respective portions in the labor of the Society. The cuisine was countrified but creditable—not quite the usual hotel variety, but all wholesome, well cooked and all the articles of diet were the "real thing," as they were genuine home productions and could be trusted without the test of the state "pure food" inspection. There was a "bar"—the only one in Zoar—in the corner room of the hotel, where beer and wines were served; the latter mostly of the village vintage. The beer drank in this region had heretofore been solely that of Zoar brewing, noted for its purity and excellency. The brewery had recently shut down and an importation was now all that could be had. It could be bought cheaper than made. The Zoarites drank beer freely. This beverage, fresh from the brewery, when in operation, was supplied to each family in generous quantities each day, precisely

as was milk and cider. But they were a sober people; rarely did a case of intoxication occur. The income to the hotel from whatever source, bar, board or livery, went, of course, to the society fund, as did all revenues received from any source; none went to the landlord or any of the hotel force.

Across the street, opposite the hotel, was the only store of the place; a general country store, where dry goods, groceries, hardware, etc., were provided for the outside country customers, the neighboring farmers. This merchandizing establishment was conducted in the interests of the Society and did a large and profitable business. Mr. Louis Zimmermann, the secretary and treasurer of the Society, was the manager of this, as he was of all the negotiations between the Society and outside parties. In this store room was the postoffice of the village. This store and the hotel opposite formed the center of the village life and here the male members who were so inclined spent their lounging hours, smoking, chatting and discussing the affairs of their community. Their conversation was mostly in German, not a very pure form, but rather a peasant dialect. Nearly all could speak English. They were not an educated people, though all adults could read and write in German. They were not a reading class. Literature of any description was conspicuously absent in this community. There was no library in the place; books were a rarity in the homes. Some of the Zoarites were subscribers to a weekly (generally German) paper, but that was an exception. In former years the admission of outside literature was discouraged, if not forbidden as tending to weaken their religious faith and make inroads into the principles and practices of their life. On the contrary, they never attempted to propagate their doctrines among outsiders. They never sought converts. No paper or periodical of any kind was ever printed or published by the Society. They took little or no interest in the concerns of the outside world, unless it was in national politics. This lack of interest was true of the older people but did not apply so much to the younger generation. They were all loyal American citizens. In the Rebellion, in spite of their peace principles, many enlisted and fought for the preservation of the Union, and the

Society had its quota of veterans. None, I was told, took part in the late Spanish war. They took an interest in national events, particularly in the campaign of 1896, when as the election returns showed, almost to a man they voted the Republican ticket. The money issue of that campaign must have seemed rather extraneous to their personal inter-dealings. The question may have had a bearing on the commercial relations of the Society with outsiders, but among themselves they had no need of nor use for money. Everything they permitted themselves to have or enjoy was provided to the individual "without money and without price." In this respect they, the older ones especially, were to be regarded as in the position of wards of an estate. I wondered what they would do when given their property and placed upon their own responsibility, exertion and resources. There were, in a partisan sense, no local politics in Zoar, though there was not an absence of municipal functions. Once a year the members of the society met in the Town Hall, situated in a small frame building erected for that purpose, and in the little belfry of which hung the bell that called the people to work in the morning and sounded the dinner and quitting hour. In this little hall the members would gather, hear reports from their officers, consider their questions, discuss their interests and hold their elections.

In 1884 (August 25) when the railroad came along and established a station at Zoar and put the village in steam touch with the world, the Zoarites incorporated[22] their village and assumed municipal form, with a mayor, town council, marshal, etc. But in the election of these officials there was never any division of any kind. No partisan contests disturbed the even tenor of Zoar life. Their elections were monotonous and unanimous. The municipal officers were chosen from the leading members of the Society and at the time of my visit Jacob Sturm, one of the three trustees, was the Mayor as well. He was also the railway station agent. His earnings belonged to the Society.

As the evening shades began to fall an interesting scene was presented by "the lowing herd winding slowly" from the

[22] These Articles of Incorporation will be found in latter part of this article.

pasture to the village barn. There were "ninety and nine" of them, many with their clanging bells, driven, or rather accompanied, by one of the Zoarite patriarchs, who bore on his bent shoulders the burden of more than three-score and ten years. The sleek kine filed leisurely down the lane into either side of the basement of an immense barn. The name of each cow was posted in large letters over her stall and each found without hesitation her own proper place. A dozen or more Zoar lasses, with pails and stools, cheerily entered upon the task of milking, superintended by the stable "boss." The cattle and barn were clean and tidy and this milking scene was a memorable one, The milk was carried into a small dairy close by, placed in large cans, and here dealt out to the village housewives or children who came with their buckets to receive their portion. The barn was a lofty concern, and in the upper story was kept hay and feed for the cattle. There were two other extensive buildings or sets of buildings used in connection with the farming department. On the eastern edge of the village were the stables where were kept all the horses, some fifty or more in number, and in adjoining buildings the wagons, farm implements, machines, etc. The horses were well fed and cared for, though this stable establishment had a decidedly neglected and dilapidated appearance.

On a hill still to the east of the village was an enormous "L" shaped sheep shed with the red tile roof, which, owing to the elevation on which the buildings stood, could be seen from almost any direction for a long distance. At one time wool raising was a very great feature in their industrial life, but the flock of sheep now only numbered two or three hundred. In the good old times it had often numbered more than a thousand. Not far from the horse stable was the cider mill, which was in full blast, producing an article of superior quality. When in season this was daily carted about the village in a low-wheeled, large-barrelled conveyance, precisely resembling a small sprinkling wagon. It stopped at every door and the inmates were supplied with a pail full or more, as was required.

Not far from the hotel was the laundry where the washing was done for the community. Near by was a stunted, one-

story, sullen, ominous, looking structure with small, iron-grated windows and a heavy double plank door. It was the Zoar Bastille; they called it the "calaboose." I inquired with much surprise as to the necessity for this penal institution in so moral and sober a community, and was informed with a smile on the part of my respondent, that it was built solely for the benefit of visitors to the village. It came with the incorporation of the town and the town marshal. Zoar was, as before stated, a favorite field for the pleasure seeker and occasionally the excursionist exhiliration reached a boisterous and even belligerent stage, and incarceration was the only remedy. In the days when the tramp was so numerously abroad in the land, Zoar was his haven and delight, as the generous and sympathetic Zoarite would "take him in," feed him and lodge him over night in the lockup. But my informant proudly stated the Zoarites themselves never had any use for a prison. No community of like number and age ever had such a record for morality and good behavior. From the origin of the Society no Zoarite, while a member of the Society, was ever charged with a felony or crime. These remarkable statements were verified by several of the oldest inhabitants; certainly the highest testimony to the perfect character and spotless life of the Separatists. It is doubtful whether any community in any time or place can produce such a record.

At the northern outskirts of the village upon rising ground that overlooked the whole settlement were the bakery, church and schoolhouse. The bakery was an interesting relic of the old time, primeval bake ovens. The family having in charge this important feature of the Society's provision department, were assigned a good sized corner dwelling, with a roomy, stone floored kitchen into the rear of which was built a cavernous brick oven, the cooking chamber of which was elevated about two feet from the level of the kitchen floor. This oven was large enough for a man to easily enter and crawl about when repairs were necessary. The heating apartment was a similar brick chamber, not under but at the side of the bake oven. Here most of the baking was done for the village, though all of the families cooked more or less for themselves. The schoolhouse and church were brick buildings

of many years standing. The schoolhouse was a two story structure with a spacious recitation room on each floor. This property was dedicated by the Society to the Township school authorities. The school was conducted in all respects like any village school, under the state school laws. The township school trustees elected the teacher and paid him from the public school fund. For fifteen or sixteen years the only teacher has been Mr. Levi Bimeler, a great-grandson of Joseph Bimeler. He obligingly showed me through the school building and I found him a gentleman of ability and culture. He had been fitted for his profession by attending the public schools at Strasburg (Tuscarawas county) and the Normal Schools at Shanesville and New Philadelphia. These outside educational advantages, improved by Mr. Bimeler, were at the expense of the Society and so far as I could learn this was the only instance in which a member had been sent away or been permitted to leave temporarily for the purpose of being educated.

He held his certificate from the county board as any public school teacher. He was paid the salary of fifty dollars per month, which of course under the rules of the community he turned into the treasury of the Society. It was vacation when I visited the building and I did not see the school in operation. Mr. Bimeler informed me that there were ninety-five pupils enrolled and about sixty-five in average attendance. This number embraced, however, many children not belonging to the Zoar society or village, but residing in this school territory, children of outside neighboring farmers.

Might not this collateral education of the Zoar young and the "worldly" youth have been a dangerous influence upon the growth or retention of the principles of the Zoarites in their boys and girls?

All the Zoarite children attended school from the ages of six to fifteen with the girls, and to sixteen in case of the boys. The pupils, their tutor testified were bright, attentive, studious and obedient. The course covered the main studies of the primary and grammar grades. There were a few studies that might be classed as in the high school curriculum. The instruction was in English except on two days in the week, when they were taught Ger-

man. Music was a favorite study and in that the pupils did well. The children of the village with whom I talked seemed intelligent, well behaved and obedient, and less forward and "pert" in manner than the average American youth of similar age.

The village church if not orthodox in its faith was so in its furniture with its old fashioned, straight back seats. The walls and ceilings were uncolored and unadorned; the whole air of the interior was cold and uninviting. A melodeon was on the platform near the desk. On the open space back of the seats stood one of the colossal Zoar stoves, with a capacity sufficient to absorb the contents of a small coal mine at one divine service. But coal in those parts was plenty as the lands of the Society were well supplied with this mineral, though it was not of the best grade. Before the decline of interest in religious observances, the services were three on the Sabbath; a Sunday school in the afternoon and worship exercises in the morning and evening. There were no prayers — only a song or two and the reading of one of Bimeler's discourses. This reading had lately been done by the village gardener who acted as both florist and parson. Bimeler's homilies had been read and re-read till they had become an old story and interest in them was sadly waning. Much that they contained had become obsolete in the Zoar belief. Attendance upon church was not obligatory and the audiences were slowly dwindling in number and zeal. All services had been abandoned at the time of my visit, and as one member remarked, their religious sentiment was passing away, as a prelude to the departure of their communism. The descendants of the pioneer and pious Separatists clung no longer to the plain and simple faith of their fathers. But while there seemed to be an abatement of religious life in the Society there was no lessening in the standard of their moral conduct. The church was not used for the ceremonies usually celebrated in the sanctuary. The funerals and weddings did not take place in the kirk. There was no religious observance in marriage. It was purely a civil contract, the legal part being performed by a justice of the peace. In 1898, and for some years previous, the secretary of the Society held the office of justice of the peace, and discharged all the duties of the same. They did not permit members to marry outside of the society, and re-

quired all who made outside matrimonial alliances to leave the community. When marriage first began among them the plan was adopted that the children should remain in the care of their parents until three years of age, when they were housed in a common children's home, the girls in one and the boys in another, where each respectively were brought up under the direction of persons appointed for that purpose; nor did they ever again come under the exclusive control of their parents. This custom prevailed until 1845, when it was discontinued and thereafter the children were reared in the homes of and by their parents, subject to the jurisdiction of the trustees, to the extent that their authority invaded the domestic life. It was the business of the Society, through the trustees, to provide for the children all they required, until they became of age and elected to become members of the Society.

The funerals were very simple affairs, there being no ceremony of any kind either at the house or at the burial. The encased body, in an open wagon, followed by the villagers on foot, was quietly conveyed to the grave at the usual hour of 1 P. M. The following Sunday evening a funeral sermon was read in the church. The cemetery, situated on a hill northwest of the village, was a veritable "God's acre;" densely shaded by fir trees, the grounds almost without paths and profusely overgrown with grass, wild flowers, creeping vines and weeds. Until a few years ago, tombstones were proscribed. The graves were not even designated. Bimeler requested that no monument mark his sepulchre, and none does. I could not find it, though its location is well known to his people. It is now the custom to have the graves marked by a wooden head-piece or in some cases by a stone slab.

Such were the more noticeable external features, as presented to me during my few days' sojourn in Zoar. They were a unique and in many respects remarkable people, leading a peculiar and isolated life. Their daily needs and simple wants were all readily supplied. Their lives were peaceful and easeful, proof of the sad refrain of Anna Boleyn:

> "'Tis better to be lowly born,
> And range with humble livers content."

The men looked well fed and ruddy and moved about with a deliberation at times almost amounting to indifference. The women were noticeably the busier and more active. In the earlier period of the community they shared almost equally the physical labors of the men. They cleared the forest and tilled the field no less than their husbands and sons. After the Society reached its prosperous stage, the lot of the women was an easier one. Their household cares were lighter than is usually the case with housewives. But they did not appear as hale and hearty as the men, perhaps, possibly, because they confined themselves indoors more than is generally the habit with the village dame. But they were happy and contented. Their domestic life was serene and pleasant. This is evidenced by the astounding fact that there had never been a divorce in the Society. At the time of my visit the wives, though consenting to the coming change in the community, were more anxious than their husbands as to the outcome.

To one from the hurly-burly of the business world the village of Zoar seemed oppressed with an air of stillness, if not even sluggishness. Hamlet could have walked the streets of Zoar for a stage and have truly remarked:

> "And enterprises of great pith and moment,
> With this regard their currents turn away,
> And lose the name of action."

What did the Zoarites themselves think of it? Did they regard it as a success? Did they wish to change this life to one of individual responsibility and result?

The patriarch, whose duty it was to drive the cows to pasture at early morn and to the barn at dewy eve, did not wish to give up the Zoarite scheme. Communism with him had been and still was a success. This was the sentiment of many of the older members—it was too late for them to launch out into the world on an untried experience for themselves; many of them succumbed reluctantly and apprehensively to the will of the great majority — in the decision to disband. To them it was a life free from care, worry and excessive work. They literally took no thought for the morrow. They lay down in comfortable homes at night, in certain and satisfactory knowledge that they would be equally well provided for

on the succeeding day. What boon in life greater or more desirable than that?

> "From toil, his spirits light,
> From busy day the peaceful night,
> Rich, from the very want of wealth
> In heaven's best treasures, peace and health."

The Zoar region was a remarkably healthy one; the pure and wholesome food, their simple and regular habits, all united to prevent disease and prolong life.

There was one doctor in the Society, the only one they had known for a generation. His office was a room or two in one of the less attractive buildings near the hotel. He was self-educated; had "picked up" his medical knowledge; his nostrums were few and simple and nature was doubtless his chief assistant; his "school", if he had any, might be called "the school of common sense." In extremely difficult cases an outside surgeon might be called in.

"Yes," said the doctor in his chat with me, "the old ones are not so anxious to quit but the young ones are bound to wind up. They go out and get a taste of the world and its opportunities and activities and they become discontented and restless."

And that was true; many a family had a son in the great west or some large city. The young men wanted to start out for themselves and possess and control the results of their efforts. The barber shop was a little back room allotted for that purpose in the town hall building. Two days in the week the members, who were addicted to the custom, were shaven and also such visitors as were in need of tonsorial attention. The knight of the razor was a bright young fellow who gave me fair facial treatment, and with the customary barber's conversational powers imparted much information as I plied him with questions. He was of age, born and raised in the Society but did not care to become a member. "No chance here for a young man." He contemplated going off to "find a job" elsewhere; wanted to do for himself; had already "worked several years and had nothing to show for it." But as he was eligible to probation and membership he hoped by remaining with the community until the distribution that he might get half a share. There were several in the same situation. As I gave him the price

Main Street Looking North

of his labor (shave) he remarked if he were his own man he would get that, while now "it goes to the Society." He thought it was better for all that they divide up.

The blacksmith, a stalwart six footer, testified he had worked hard all his life with an indefinite undivided property interest as his reward. "Think how much I would have now had I worked and saved for myself — some in the Society have done hardly any work, but will get the same that I do. This way of doing business is not natural, nor right," he added.

I found several who touched on this note — that those put at the hard or difficult, or continuous tasks felt that others were not so heavily burdened — yet the recompense was precisely the same. One whose task began at times at daylight and did not end till night was very "sore" at some who got off with "easy jobs." This feeling of the inequality of the exertion put forth and of the labor performed was very often expressed in no undisguised terms. Yet all admitted it was not the fault of the authorities in their efforts to assign and equalize the work. The trustees tried to be fair and judicious in the apportionment. It was natural for some to work. It was equally natural in some to shirk. Said one of the most intelligent and observant in the Society: "This system of communism puts a premium on indolence." It deadened the spurs and motives of activity. Some one has said man is naturally a lazy animal, he only works because he has to. Human nature is prone to seek the paths that present the least resistance. Communism affords favorable conditions for the discouragement of energy and the exercise of the inertia.

I was not a little amused at my encounter with the "boss" of the barn. He was silently engaged in extracting the lacteal wealth from one of the patient kine — that prosaic process commonly called milking. I approached and addressed him in English, eliciting no response. I then tried my German, rusty from disuse and many years absence from its Fatherland. He evidently preferred my better American to my bad German. To my queries he acknowledged he heartily favored a distribution and a chance for himself. The communistic system gave the lazy too much leeway. He toiled while others slept. Finally to spike my battery of inter-

rogatories he asked, "Was you one of dem newspaper fellers what wants to know evertings?" "No," I replied, "I am a college professor." "Oh, vell," he instantly retorted, "dot was the same ting and just as bad." We understood each other perfectly after that and became good friends.

In the hot boiler room of the cider mill I found one of the oldest members who seemed to be the personification of contentment. He was, and for many years had been, the fireman and he sat in his bared arms eating an apple and apparently wrapt in pleasing meditation. I think he must have been thinking of the approaching dismemberment of the community, for upon my asking his views he unhesitatingly stated he had keenly enjoyed the Zoar life. It had been one of plenty and peace. But he realized there had come a changed condition of affairs and he philosophically accepted the "new dispensation." "Yes," he said, "I was satisfied and happy. It was all right till a few years yet. I know not how it will do in the new way, but we must make the change, dat was sure."

The good old shoemaker who, with two younger assistants, was "pegging away" in a faithful but deliberate manner, was in favor of the dissolution, though a little uncertain and uneasy about the outcome to himself and some others. All three agreed it was "not according to nature for one to work for others," "it is better that each be by himself and know what he has got." The element of self-interest and individuality was self-assertive. The principle, "every man for himself," was a popular sentiment. Many minor influences had been working to undermine the Society. Opportunities had been increasing as time passed for the shrewd and enterprising ones to acquire sums of money in a way that did not demand, in their estimation, its being turned into the general fund. This developed in some curious and ingenious ways. Many families raised chickens in their yards; these and the eggs they would sell to outsiders. This questionable method of traffic created much dissatisfaction and the trustees endeavored at times to regulate and equalize the poultry production — by dictating the number of fowls each family might raise. This attempt was found difficult to enforce. Housewives would take in washing for the visitors; the young and older too would do sewing for the summer board-

ers, or make lace and various articles for sale; the boys would catch and sell fish; make and let boats on the river; slip off after work and do odd jobs for outside parties. Individual effort for personal gain could not be suppressed nor equalized. I was talking with one of the elder members as he sat on his porch when a young man rode up on a Columbia wheel, dismounted and entered the house. He was the son of my old friend. I asked if the Society furnished bicycles to the members. The old gentleman laughed and said "not much", and he explained that the young fellow earned money nights working for the railroad and bought a wheel. It was the only safety I saw in Zoar, but the manner of its acquisition was illustrative of one of the currents that was in opposition to the simple communism with which they started. Another source of inequality and dissatisfaction was the furnishing certain members at times with money to go upon trips to see friends or transact some necessary business at a distant point. Those who had no occasion for going objected to or at least regarded with disfavor those who went. Again, and one of the most important items tending toward disruption was the necessity for the Society to employ help. Their principal business had always been farming and stock-raising. This required the continuous labor of many "farm hands." Their farming interest was about the only one left them. The young and stout men were drifting away. The older members were unable to do hard and incessant manual work. There were thousands of acres to care for or go to waste. The Society was driven to the employment of imported help. A field near the cemetery was being plowed by four teams, driven by as many plowmen. I accosted them as Zoarites, only to learn all were "hired help" and foreign to the Society. Some fifty men were on the pay roll of the Society at the time of my visit, all of course non-members. There were also several adult members [by birth] of Zoar families who declined to become members of the Society, but who were permitted to remain in the community and who, in addition to getting their living from the Society, were paid small annual sums for their work. They were of course eligible to membership but for various reasons did not wish to legally join. A main factor in the failure of the Society was the general decline of

its industries and the shrinkage in values. To the decline in the industries of the Society I have already referred. The shrinkage in values of both real and personal property was necessarily not confined at this time to the Society. It was common to the country wherever property of any description was to be found.

A few Zoarites acknowledged that the communistic plan fostered extravagance or at least lack of thrift and economy on the part of the members. There was great and unnecessary waste of material, particularly in the line of food and fuel and household necessities. The baker would get from the miller more flour than was actually needed. The consumers drew from the baker more than their needs demanded. Not being required to save for themselves, they naturally did not attempt to save for others or for all. What came so easily and so plentifully was not properly valued and there was no incentive to household economy.

DECISION TO DISBAND.

The history of Zoar is the record of the rise and decline of a communistic civilization. In the pioneer years, their religious zeal and physical necessities impelled them to industry and thrift. After the forming of the communistic contract they prospered as a Society. The country was opening up; the western tide of emigration, as it swept by or settled about them, fostered their industries and enhanced the value of their property. The building of the Ohio Canal was of great benefit to them. They contracted to dig the canal throughout the extent of their territory, by which they not only acquired the sum of $21,000.00 in ready money, but also made a considerable sum by furnishing the neighboring contractors with articles of food.[23]

It was a period of development; of clearing and improving the land; of labor and of saving. They added to their original purchase until at one time they possessed some twelve thousand acres. They not only built up industries for their own consumption, but established a large commerce with the outside

[23] Penny Magazine (1837) Vol. VI, page 411.

world. The growth and prosperity of the Society was largely due to the ability and shrewdness of Joseph Bimeler. Until his death the affairs of the community progressed. This success continued, or rather remained undiminished for several years after his death.[24] Then the decline set in and for the past twenty-five years the interests of the Society, as one member put it, "have been going down." Their trade gradually fell off, their income decreased and their expenses increased. Their young and active members deserted. At various times in its history individual members withdrew and made claim for their distributive shares of the accumulated property. More rarely a dissolution was suggested, but such proposal met with little or no encouragement among the members. In the few bygone years the more intelligent and observant among them could not fail to realize that the Society was "auf die Neige" — on the wane —and time alone would determine its dismemberment.

One of the most interesting episodes in the later history of the Society was the outspoken "rebellion" of one of its leading members, Mr. Levi Bimeler, the descendant of Joseph Bimeler and the village school master, of whom we have already made mention.

Mr. Bimeler was educated, as has been noted, outside of the Society. He openly advocated the right of the members to withdraw and receive their distributive share if they desired it. In 1895 Mr. Bimeler promulgated his views in a little folio,—a four-page sheet about the size of a legal cap page. Mr. Bimeler was editor, publisher and pressman. He wrote the entire contents of his paper—a monthly—and then duplicated it upon a letter copying press. The edition was of course very limited, a hundred or more, and sold to the members. It was the only periodical publication ever attempted in Zoar.

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[24] As late as 1875 their property was estimated at the nominal value of $1,500,000. About the date of Bimeler's death, the society numbered some 500 adults and children. This number in 1885 was 390 according to the statement in Prof. Ely's "Labor Movement in America."

This organ of the agitator was called the "Nugitna" and three numbers were issued, the fourth partially prepared for duplication and publication, when the editor was "called down" by the Society authorities and given to understand that unless he ceased his vexatious and rebellious publication he would be expelled and deprived of all rights, present or prospective, in the Society. The fourth number never appeared. As these monthlies represent an element — however small it may have been — in the Society at the time of their appearance, and as they contribute much information concerning the history and purpose of the Society, they are herewith reproduced without alteration. They have historic interest and deserve permanent preservation in the archives of Zoar.

We would not say that they are to be taken as voicing the popular sentiment at the period of their publication. As the editor frankly confesses, his propaganda met with both approval and disapproval. The exercise of the censorship of the press in this case would indicate a centralized power in this equal community. The "Nugitna", as the reader will observe, was a bugle-blast for individual rights in no mild or mistaken tones. It is the irony of fate that a Bimeler should have been the most pronounced iconoclast of his great-grandfather's institution. The claim for which the "Nugitna" contended was not a new or novel one. It had often been made at various times and by various members who wished to withdraw from the Society and take their "belongings" with them, or by members who had withdrawn. We have already reported the law cases growing out of such claims. But we let the "Nugitna" speak for itself.

THE NUGITNA.

Vol. 1. *Zoar, Ohio, Dec. 30, 1895.* *No. 1.*

INDEPENDENCE, NOW AND FOREVER!

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one person to dissolve the political bands which connect him with a Communistic Society, and to assume among the citizens of a state the equal and separate station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle him, a decent respect to the opinions of his fellow Communists requires that he should declare the cause which impel him to such separation. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted, it is the right of the governed to amend or abolish it.

Fellow Communists. I quote the above, with slight alterations, from the "Declaration of Independence." It fits our conditions exactly. And, if we possess only half the "grit" and determination of our ancestors, we will be successful in obtaining the coveted liberty and Independence. This Society has for a long time back become destructive of the ends for which it was instituted.

You know—or perhaps you don't—that this "Communistic Society" was instituted for these five ends; viz: 1st. To secure that satisfaction, proceeding from the faithful execution of those principles and duties which the Christian religion demands; 2nd.

To plant and establish the Spirit of Love as the bond of peace and unity; 3rd. To unite our various individual interests into one common stock; 4th. To abolish all distinctions of rank and of fortune; 5th. To live as brethren and sisters of one common family.

We believe that the faithful execution of those "Christian duties" was an easy matter to our forefathers, but that it is not possible for us to do likewise as Communists. We may form the best resolves, and aim to live according to the rules laid down by the founders of this Community, but all of these vanish like a light morning mist, when we see the total corruptness of our whole system. Some, indeed, still believe that this is the system, and can not understand why some have the audacity to condemn it, and to attempt to withdraw therefrom with a proper share of the Society's property. But some day they will have a revelation. Look about you, and show me the man or woman who has secured the desired satisfaction as indicated in the 1st end. There is not one who can truly say it. Examine yourselves, go down into the depths of your conscience and ask yourself — Am I living up to this purpose? — and the answer will surely be negative. To those who say that *they* have lived and are now living in accordance with the 1st end, I can only say that they are the worst hypocrites existing, and that none but their like believe them.

THE NUGITNA

Is published every four weeks. Its aim is to secure to the members of

THE ZOAR SOCIETY

the right to withdraw therefrom, and to receive a proper share of the Society's property.

TERMS:

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LEVI BIMELER,

Editor and Publisher, Zoar, Ohio.

COMMENTS ON THE MEETING OF DECEMBER 3rd, 1895.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Zimmerman who, in a few, well chosen words, briefly stated the object for which the meeting was called. Mr. Beuter, sr., opened the discussion in his usual way on such occasions—exhorting the members to continue in this state of Communism, but advised also to discard certain avoidable habits of intemperance and gluttony. He was followed by Christ. Ruof jr. who spoke in direct opposition of Mr. Beuter's 1st theme. Next came Jacob Sturm who entertained the meeting by an explanation. Next spoke L. Bimeler who advocated the peaceable dissolution of the bands which connect individual members with the Society. He was ably seconded by Messrs. Sylvan, Kuemmerle and P. J. Bimeler. Charles Ehlers ably presented the real object of the meeting.

Others followed; some acting in a gentlemanly manner as did those who spoke before them, while others lost all control over their tempers and gave vent to their personal feelings against one another.

Christian Ruof sr. was conspicuous through his absence.

The meeting, after completing its object, adjourned wiser than when it met.

A few more such meetings with the people who have no other way of obtaining Data, will work wonders.

TOWN TOPICS.

The time for the annual slaughtering of hogs is at hand. The party of slaughterers began their work on the 16th inst. and disposed of the 1st lot of hogs, 45 head, in less than one week.

John Gantenbein, the barber, was waiter at the butcher's meals. John is a good waiter and always gives satisfaction. On this occasion however, he caught cold—the weather being wet and cool—and was sick for a week after. John says "Das kann mir gestohlen werden"; and "The next time I'll tend to my business only."

The Society is actively engaged in lumbering and is shipping the lumber to all parts of the globe.

Frank Kappel and Rosa Ruof —both born in Zoar but for a number of years away from home—are visiting at their parents. Both look well and happy.

GUESTS AT THE HOTEL.

Mr. Lockwood; Miss Scoti; and A. Gunn.

The "Gold Mine" is flooded.

The entertainment given by the pupils of the Zoar Schools assisted by the classes of '94 and '95 was well attended and gave universal satisfaction. The classes of '94 and '95—all girls between 15 and 18 years of age—made an immense impression on the young men in the audience. Such expressions as "They look like a garden of Roses in bloom"; "Ah, me! I wish she were mine"; "The sweet angels;" and half suppressed sighs were heard on all sides.

COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS.

Dec. 9th. Council met in regular session. No business being on hand Council adjourned.

Mr. and Mrs. Obed Burkhart were made happy. It is a boy.

Mr. Leo. Kern, a veteran of the Civil war, was held up by four armed men on the canal road between Zoar and Zoar Station and robbed of all his money. Poor Leo! He must have felt as bad as when his corps was routed at Chancellorsville by the Rebels.

Barbara Angele, a domestic in the family of Adam Kuemmerle, died Dec. 26th, 1895.

THE NUGITNA.

Vol. I. *Zoar, Ohio, January 27, 1896.* *No. 2.*

COMMUNISM — HUMBUGISM!

The second end for which the Society was established is: "To plant and establish the Spirit of Love as the bond of peace and unity." The second end is closely related to the first and, like it, rests chiefly on religious principles. It is *so* easy to form fundamental principles for *others* to observe; but to live according to them ourselves, is quite different. The pioneers of this settlement had originally no inclination to establish Communism, but simply to find a home where they could, without molestation, live according to their dogma. When the first settlers came in 1817, all was still a wilderness, the first winter was very severe, and they suffered great hardships. Among the settlers were many who were not able to earn a living. Since they left Germany for the purpose of religious freedom, the able-bodied were in honor bound to aid the feeble. After a time the old, infirm, feeble and others who were too lazy to work saw that this could not last forever, and that as soon as the religious scruples exerted less influence, they would be neglected and fare badly. They were the ones who began to agitate the Communistic idea. Said they, "We are one in religious belief, let us be one in rank and fortune." The idea was worked up until those in comfortable circumstances — they were the minority — had no choice but to join or to be considered renegades.

Mr. J. Bimeler, "Old Bimeler" as we call him, opposed the

Communistic movement from the first, and was the last man to give his consent. "Old" Bimeler was the Spiritual head of the Separatists and, having joined the Society, it was mainly through his influence, and the then existing circumstances that the Spirit of Love was kept alive. The Society prospered while he lived. Bimeler saw clearly where Communism would lead to; when we read his sermons we find grave doubts expressed regarding the stability of Communism, and the wisdom of establishing this Society. He was right! Where is the "Spirit of Love" now? Where is the bond of peace and unity? Where are the planters and fosterers of this Spirit? Gone, forever! The "Spirit of Love," as we look at it, is embodied in the "Golden Rule," viz.: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." It appears, however, that the majority interpret it thus: "Love thyself and slander thy neighbor." All the simplicity which the founders held dear has given place to extravagance and pomposity. And "thereby hangs a tale!" The founders were really devout believers, not only in word but in deed also. But we who are believers in form only, who not only not believe but ridicule the most sacred of our ancestors' teachings, can't establish this "Spirit" as Communists. None can deny that we don't believe the religious doctrines of our fathers any more. You may, perhaps, say "O, yes! we believe." But where are your deeds to prove it. Now, if we are renegades, or in other words, fell off from the doctrine of religion, why not sever the political bands which tie us to the Society. Shall we continue to be Communists?

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LEVI BIMELER,
Editor and Publisher, Zoar, Ohio.

COMMENTS.

The appearance of the first number of the "Nugitna" created quite an excitement. Various were the remarks and opinions expressed by different members of the Society. Some were mad, others shook their heads, and still others were glad. The editor has, personally, heard only a few opinions expressed, but is, nevertheless, well informed regarding the prevailing opinions. The first week after the publication of "The Nugitna" there was some strong talk. Some went so far as to express themselves thus: This act is enough to expel the publisher from the Society; but when the cool, second thought came, the impracticability of such expulsion made itself manifest. This "second thought" is a great blessing. "Expel him" is more easily said than done. The U. S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and press. We avail ourselves of this guarantee for a good purpose. "The Nugitna" created more stir than anything we can think of in the history of this Society (except perhaps the circulation of a petition in the year 1850–4, for the purpose of throwing the trustees, Ackerman and Sylvan from office and putting the originators of the petition in their place). We can't see

why the "Nugitna" should disturb our affairs. We are not seeking to throw anybody from and putting ourselves in the place as those petitioners in the early fifties. No! we simply desire that receding members shall receive a proper share of the Society's property. If we deem it necessary we will publish the petition mentioned above and the names connected with it.

"All is quiet on the Potomac."

THE NUGITNA.

Vol. I. *Zoar, Ohio, February 24, 1896.* *No. 3.*

COMMUNISM — DESPOTISM.

The 3rd end for which the Society was instituted is "To unite our various individual interests into one common stock." This, like the preceding two rests on Religion, being a modification of the 22nd verse, 18th chapter of St. Luke. Living up to this end required very little self-denial of our forefathers as the majority possessed nothing but what they carried on their backs. The few who were in possession of money had no chance to spend it. The circumstances then and now are widely different. The Pioneers had absolutely no intercourse with the outside world, except a few who were entrusted with the conveyance of goods and produce to, and from Philadelphia, Pa. So you see, that the money one might have did him no particle of good. He could not buy anything if he wanted to. There was equality of fortune among the first settlers. But let us look at the conditions of things as they exist now. Is there a union of individual interests now? Do we contribute every thing into one common stock? Has not the individual interest gained supremacy over the general interest? We tell you that the individual interest is the primary and the general interest the secondary object from the preacher down to the lowliest, with only a *few* exceptions. All this has been brought about by time, intercourse with the outside world, and last, but not least, our Public Schools. The state of affairs now existing is natural and in accordance

with the laws of human nature. The present generation sees too clearly that a favored few enjoy all the comforts and luxuries that money can buy, while they must be satisfied with what is meted out to them. This went well thirty years ago, when the members of the Society, were kept in ignorance of the true state of things, when the members did not dare to think contrary to prevailing customs, not to speak of voicing them, for fear of expulsion from the Society. There has always been, and to a certain extent still is a tendency to keep the affairs of the Society from the knowledge of the members. Is it because those in office are the wise men of the Society? Or, are the members too ignorant to be trusted with the knowledge of the Society's affairs. Which?

The secret of the stability of the Society lay in its Children's Institution. In the early history of Zoar, every child when it had attained to the age of three years was taken away from the parents into the Society Children's Institution and left to the tender (?) mercies of its keepers. In some future issue we will illuminate said Institution.

If "Old" Ackerman had done no other good deed but to refuse to send his child to this Institution, he has, by that alone, richly earned the love and esteem of the members which he possessed. Hold sacred the relation of parent to child.

A Pioneer Cottage.

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COMMENTS.

The opposition which "The Nugitna" has encountered continues. The authorities are making strenuous efforts to compel the publisher to quit the business. He said that the "The Nugitna" would not be issued any more if the gross violations of our by-laws, now existing to the full knowledge of the authorities, were also abated.

However, an amicable settlement of the difficulties may yet be reached; in this case "The Nugitna" will be a thing of the past. There are some sections of our by-laws which are unjust, unfair and unconstitutional. "The Nugitna" wants to educate the members of the Society to see that our by-laws need revision. To bring them to look upon Communism as not consistent with modern civilization; and to inculcate a spirit which holds sacred the rights of individual members to obtain and hold private property. The early history of Jamestown, Va., shows that Communism is a failure. Those settlers tried the experiment but gave it up within five years. Is it a wonder then, that we, living in the rich State of Ohio, consider it a failure, too? Communism puts a premium on idleness, and discounts diligence. There is no reward for the industrious, and no punishment for the idle. "Nimms easy und lasz fuenfe grad sein," is appropriate for Communists.

TOWN TOPICS.

We have the sad duty to announce the demise of one of our members. The deceased "Christina Peterman," was the the first child born in Zoar. At the time of her birth the

Zoar Society did not exist yet. She was born July, 1818, in a rough log cabin, and attained to the age of 77 years. Her parents were very wealthy and when Communism was established they gave all into the common fund. In her the Society loses one of its truest members. There is not a soul in Zoar who can say ill of her, but one and all praise her kindness and devotion. The words of Christ may well be applied: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

May she rest in peace for evermore.

COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS.

Feb. 10th, 1896. Council met in regular session with all the members present. Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. Several subjects were discussed but no action was taken, and on motion of Mr. Beuter, the Council adjourned.

The activity in our lumber industry continues. It is somewhat difficult to haul the lumber owing to the bad condition of the roads.

The Pres. of the Lawrence Tp. school board, Mr. D. Bender, visited our schools. Mr. Bender is well qualified for his office.

The anniversary of the birth of Washington was fittingly celebrated by our schools. The primary room was beautifully decorated with bunting and flags. Both schools met in said room and the exercises were opened with the song "America." Then followed dialogues, speeches, biographies, drills. Many householders were present and joined in the concluding song: Red, White and Blue.

THE NUGITNA.

Vol. 1. *Zoar, Ohio, March 23, 1896.* *No. 4.*

COMMUNISM—SOCIALISM.

Communism may be a good thing in the interior of Africa, but in the center of the highly civilized state of Ohio it is an outrage. Communism, as practicably demonstrated by the Zoar Society, abolishes all distinctions of rank and of fortune. Any casual visitor to Zoar will undoubtedly notice the lack of reverence of inferiors to their superiors in age; attainments, or otherwise. This very lack of reverence is a certain means of downfall of all Communistic societies. The smallest child is put on a level with the adult, socially, the toper with the sober, the indolent with the diligent. What other can be expected from such a social order of things, but in the end contentions and ruin. And as to the abolition of fortune distinctions, Phew!—Who has not observed the great difference between high and low of the Zoar Society? Only fools, religious bigots or self-conceited ones are so blind to believe there is no difference in rank and fortune. Tell me, thou Thomas, why the common laborer remains laborer, and the aristocrat remains aristocrat. Is it because all distinction of rank and fortune have been abolished from amongst us? What fools we are to labor on for the benefit of a few favored ones; to keep the Don Juans in their positions of ease, luxury and revelry. The common laborer of any Com-

munistic Society is a mere slave. He must do the work assigned him; eat and drink what is given him; wear what is furnished him and dwell in the house assigned him, all without murmuring; while other members who are more favorably situated, buy for themselves what they want, although the principles of Communism abolish all distinction of rank and of fortune. This statement may easily be verified by a few days sojourn in Zoar. This is Practical Communism. Theorists may dream of a golden time when the Communism shall pervade this whole earth, but let them go to a Communistic Society and fill the place of a common laborer and they will awake to the fact that Purgatory is a blessing compared with their position. Communism is a curse to any and all communities where it is established. It deadens all push, energy and ambition. It puts a premium on idleness and unfits a person for the battle with the world for an existence when the time comes in which he will be thrown on his own resources, which will sooner or later, come to all members of Communistic Societies. There is no equality of rank and fortune in Communistic Societies nor any other intelligent community.

NOTE.—This number (4) of the *Nugitna* was only written as far as here quoted and was never printed nor given to the public.—E. O. R.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROPERTY.

The *Nugitna* was premature in its pronounced views. Like all reform organs it had to be radical to receive recognition. Yet the belief was well lodged and growing with many that the communistic feature of the Society had survived its usefulness. The idea of dissolution had become food for thought and topic for discussion. Leading minds and officials among the Zoarites recognized the inevitable approach of the end. Debts were increasing, revenues decreasing and perhaps financial failure was only a question of time. The matter was gradually brought to the notice of the members of the Society, and culminated in a meeting held in early part of January, 1898, when the momentous question was formally broached and the conclusion reached that it was best, if not imperative, that a division of the property be made. One who was present at that meeting related to me its affecting and amusing incidents. It was not without its pathetic scenes. To many it was like the separation after a life journey as one family. The incomprehension of many of the material interests involved in this action, and their inability to appreciate the main issues to be considered, was illustrated in the fact that the chief difficulty to be encountered, in the minds of several, was the equitable disposal of the stoves used in common in many instances by two families who occupied adjoining rooms, and shared one kitchen. Who would get the stove? And how would they separate the kitchen? But these problems were finally temporarily waived or satisfactorily settled and a formal agreement was reached, binding all to the decision to divide the property upon an equitable basis. On March 10th, 1898, the members signed a written compact, whereby the members "selected and appointed Samuel Foltz, Henry S. Fisher and William Becker, commissioners to make said partition and division and to designate in their report and statement by numbers and on a plat to be prepared by George E. Hayward, the Surveyor selected by us, the parts and portions of said real estate which each of us is to receive as our re-

spective shares and allotments."[25] These Commissioners met May 2, 1898, and the work of surveying and appraising was begun May 12th following. There were at this time two hundred and twenty-two people, adults and children, in the Zoar Society. There were one hundred and thirty-six members entitled to one equal share each, including several (eight or ten) probationist candidates, who were eligible to membership by birth, and life in the Society, and it was agreed to pacify these "could be" members, that they should receive each a full share. The appraisement and surveying was in process at the time of my first visit. The value of the property of the Society at this time was of course largely a matter of conjecture. The real estate consisted in round numbers of seven thousand three hundred acres. This, as I learned by consulting the records of the County Auditor, was placed upon the tax duplicate at $340,820.00. The personal property was listed at $16,250.00. The division and distribution of the property was finally accomplished in the fall of 1898. The Society before the division, made a contract of sale of the timber upon their lands. This sale brought the Society some $15,000.00 in ready money or short time notes. There was also a sale of all the personal property belonging to the Society; cattle, horses, farming appliances, etc. The funds realized from these, timber and personal property sales, were available for the discharge of the debts of the Society, the costs of the division of the property and proposed later dissolution of the corporation. A cash dividend was made to the members of the Society — amounting to some $200.00 per member, with the understanding that another dividend would probably be made when the timber notes were paid and all final expenses provided for. The farm lands were apportioned into the requisite number of lots according to the appraised value of respective sections. That is, had the land been uniform in value each distributee would have received some fifty odd acres. But as the land varied greatly in its fertility, accessibility, etc., the survey, appraisal and division produced al-

[25] See deed of realty on pp. 90–92. **The commissioners chosen were not members of the Society.**

lotments of unequal number of acres, but supposed equality of value. Each member got an equal amount of cash and a section of farm land and a home or property in the village. The hotel, for instance, represented several shares and was assigned to the landlord and the members of his family entitled to a share each. The allotments were assigned by the Commissioners. The members of the Society had no choice. They were bound to accept what was apportioned to them. The natural plan was followed as far as practicable, of assigning to each the property, or a portion of it, which he had occupied or employed in his vocation; the mill to the miller; his shop to the blacksmith, the garden to the florist, and so on.

On September 29, 1898, the deed, by the Society of Separatists of Zoar, (incorporated) in whose title the lands stood, to the various individual distributees was signed and acknowledged at Zoar and on October 13, 1898, it was recorded in the Recorder's office, New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas county, Ohio. This interesting document by which all pieces of property were granted and received in one deed, is set out in full in the latter part of this article.

The exact value of the property which each recipient member (136 in all) obtained, cannot be given. Several members informed me it would be in the vicinity of $2,500. Taking the entire Zoar (Society) population (222) and averaging the aggregate wealth, it approximates $1,500 per capita. This represents the net result of three generations of communistic labor and thrift. The average wealth per capita in the United States is now regarded as not less than $1,000. It is left to the student of sociology to speculate upon the problem whether Zoar communism paid its members (financially) or not.

This action of distribution of course annulled and abolished the communistic feature of the Society. The municipal incorporation of the village and the incorporated Society of Zoar remain intact.[26] The latter incorporation will continue until all the financial affairs of the Society are adjusted, and all litigation is

[26] At the date of this article, July 1899.

at an end.[27] The stockholders have merely divided and come into possession, separately and personally, of what was common property. The legal form of the corporation yet exists, its affairs not having been completely closed up. There are still obligations to meet and claims to collect. The apportionment of the corporate property was the withdrawal and appropriation in name and title by the individual members of the Society of their undivided and undetermined personal shares. When all further necessary details are arranged the corporate organization, as such, will be legally dissolved and the Separatist Society of Zoar will be no more.

AFTER VIEW OF ZOAR.

In the summer of 1899 the writer made a second visit to Zoar with the purpose of observing how the good Zoarites were getting on under the new dispensation. "Mine host" of old still ran the hotel and the first evidence of the new era was the telephone closet in the hall with long distance telephone facilities. Zoar was now on the electric current, in instant touch with all the world. Near by on the wall hung a tutti-frutti chewing gum slot machine. Surely Zoar was fully up to date. Opposite the hotel, across the street, was an ice cream parlor in full, though not very brisk, blast. It was difficult to imagine the staid and sober Zoarites eating ice cream and chewing gum, but they were. The village had taken on a new and modern aspect. The streets had been named. The houses had, in many cases, been repaired and more or less renovated. The roofs had been renewed and here and there slate roofs had superseded the antique tiles or the moss grown shingles. Several dwellings

[27] After the distribution of the property suit was brought in the courts of Tuscarawas county, against the incorporated Society of Zoar, by a former member (Mrs. Paulina Beiter), a great granddaughter of the original Bimeler, for a distributive share. Other ex-members set up claims in cross-petitions. The legal claim was that as the Society had been declared, in previous suits, not a perpetuity, then the dissolution of the Society worked a reversion of the property to its original holders and they or their heirs were entitled to recognition. This suit was lost, by the claimants, in the Common Pleas and Circuit Courts. It is not known whether it will be carried to the Supreme Court of the State.

had donned new chimneys of bright yellow brick. On the side street near the hotel, was a brand new modern frame dwelling, the first, and thus far the only one in town, built in modern style and plan and with a basement furnace, which was a novelty to the natives. Without doubt, as the street phrase is, Zoar "was getting a move on itself." Even domestic life was rapidly assuming phases of our most advanced city civilization, for since the change from communism, and for the first time in all the history of Zoar, a divorce had been applied for by both partners after a life-long sharing of joys and sorrows. The Doctor had deserted his old quarters and built a spruce little convenient two room office. Even his drugs and bottles were new and so was his practice, in manner and in field. "No pent up Utica contracted his powers" now, his skill extended to the farmers for miles around and he was continually "on the go." A card and revolving hand in the window indicated his absence and the hour of his return. The good doctor himself seemed to have renewed his youth and taken a fresh start in his profession.

The former quarters of the genial shoemaker and his assistants were occupied as dwelling rooms, and it was rumored that a foreign brewer was negotiating for the building for a "sample room." The cheery master cobbler had established himself in the ancient log church which dated back to the early years of the colony, and was probably the oldest structure in the village, and for many years had been used as storage room. He told me one of his two assistants had abandoned the leather bench for the farmer's plow. The other "help hand" had opened a new and rival establishment. It was the first, and indeed, the only case of competition ever experienced in Zoar.

"There's hardly enough for two shops," the shoemaker said, "but I guess I'll find something to do," he added in a serious tone that sounded like a refrain of regret over the "sure support" days gone by. The machinist was surveying his somewhat the "worse for wear" plant, and to my inquiry if all (Zoarites) were now happy, he replied cautiously, "Some, not all." I did not press the question but the manner of his answer led to the inference that he belonged to the "not all" class. The miller was em-

phatic in his approval of the "new way." With energy and enthusiasm he had improved the mill, put in several hundred dollars in repairs and modern machinery and exultantly showed me the "finest flour in the market." An hour or so before breakfast I strolled into the blacksmith shop and found the stalwart smithy pumping the bellows with one giant bare arm and with the other holding a horseshoe, with long nippers, in the glowing forge. "Well, how do you take the new deal?" He hesitated a moment, then jabbed the iron rather vigorously in the hot coals and said, "O, pretty well; I'm my own boss now but I have to work harder."

"Is everybody pleased?"

"Some was satisfied and some was 'kicking' a little," he replied in terse but slang terms. The huge horse stables, cow stable and sheep stable were like great banquet halls deserted. At the entrance of the cow stable mending the whippletree of "his" wagon was my old friend the jester and "boss" of the mustered out, milk brigade. He greeted me cheerily and to the invariable inquiry said, "Well, I like it pretty good but I have to work just as much as before. No, I got not the whole stable, dere was six shares in the stable, I gets one and my home and some farm. The farm was pretty fair but I likes to sell out and go away."

"You don't have a hundred cows to look after now?"

"No, everybody has der own cow or buys de milk already. Yes, you bet, dey all has to hustle now, dat was sure."

His desire to sell and get away was not exceptional. There were several such, particularly among those who had no specific employment and were suddenly thrown upon their newly acquired farms for a living. Very few of them had been trained in any craft or trade and those who had mostly worked upon the farm lands had done so in a mechanical or even menial manner, under guidance and direction and with learning but little knowledge of the science or principles of agriculture. This was a weakness of the communistic system. The paternalism in the government was a hindrance to thinking as well as to acting for oneself.

> **"For just experience tells, in every soil,**
> **That those that think must govern those that toil."**

It had made children of men and women. It would be difficult if not quite impossible for the older ones to "pull up stakes" and move away. Some of them, not equal to the labors of the field, proposed to rent their farms or have them worked on shares. A few of the younger ones had already left the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere. In some cases the new regime had brought back a wandering one. My former barber no longer presided at the chair, but in his stead was installed a young man of similar age. He proved to be a Zoarite who, not content with the prospects of the future, had left home a few years before and plied his trade in the large cities. He had returned now to look after his old father and mother, whom the new *status* had thrown upon their own exertions. "I thought they would need me, now," he said with filial affection, and no doubt they would. He was sorry he had left, as, if he had remained, he could have come in for a "divy", as he expressed it. The former barber dropped in while we were talking. He was above age at the time of the distribution, but had not previously become a full member of the Society, though born and raised in it. He was, however, acknowledged as a probationist member and received his share, like some others, on account of his semi- but legally recognized relation to the community.

One of the most significant indications of the return by the relieved people to the normal conditions of life was the keen sense of delight and pride with which they used the possessive pronoun and spoke of their "own" possessions.

"Is that your house?" I asked two or three, and with a contented expression that would fairly beam they would utter the possessive "mine." The baker and his wife had hung over the door the sign "Bakery," and had converted their front room into a sale shop with counters and cases, the latter filled with cookies and pies, tidily displayed to tempt the appetite. As a fellow visitor and myself stood upon the porch the husband of the woman drove up with a new buggy and dapper horse. "Where did your husband get that fine rig?" I shall never forget the tone of self-satisfaction with which she promptly replied, — "That is OURS — we bought it. Isn't it nice to have your own horse?" This innate propensity for personal proprietorship is

a factor in human nature that the advocate of universal communism fails to properly appreciate or consider. Some power will have to mould over mankind before it will yield the desire to possess the earth or at least as much of it as he can earn or inherit. As Josh Billings has philosophically remarked, "there is still a great deal of human nature in mankind."

The survey, appraisal and successful distribution of the property was a delicate and difficult work. There were so many parties to be satisfied and such a diversity in the nature of the property to be divided. Much praise is due the commissioners, Messrs. Foltz, Fisher and Becker; the Society's attorneys, Messrs. Neely and Patrick; the trustees of the Society, Joseph Breymaier, Christian Ruof, Sr., and John Bimeler, and more than to any other one, Mr. Louis Zimmerman, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society.[28]

The grounds and buildings of the brick church were reserved in the apportionment of the realty and set aside to the village corporation for the public use. But now a grave and singular question arose. There was no church organization.[29] To whom or what organization should the church property be devoted? Ministers of some of the leading denominations, both Evangelical and otherwise, sought to invade the community and secure

[28] Mr. Louis Zimmermann was assistant secretary and treasurer of the Society from 1882 to 1889 and secretary and treasurer from the latter date to the present time. He has therefore had practically the control and management of the commercial and financial interests of the Society for some seventeen years. In that position and particularly in the work of closing up the affairs of the Society, he has displayed marked ability and tact. All classes in the Society had implicit confidence in his honesty of purpose, wisdom of action and his fidelity to the duties entrusted to him. His grandfather, Louis F. Birk, was one of the original Zoar emigrants of 1817. Mr. Zimmerman was thoroughly loyal to the Zoar Society and its aims and work, so long as it could be successful, but was one of the first forced to the conclusion that the time had arrived to abandon the communistic plan. Mr. Zimmerman was for many years the manager of the general retail store of Zoar and at the distribution he and Mr. August Kuecherer received, besides other property, the store as their portion. Joseph Bimeler is also associated in the management of this store.

[29] It has been stated to the writer that the Separatists, as a religious sect, no longer exist in the old country.

for their respective sects the field apparently left open for some missionary influence. Several of the ex-Zoarites, if that expression may be permitted, highly resented the imputation that they were subjects for "conversion," or that they were fallow ground for orthodox spiritual seed. As one of the members said to me, "I don't see why we are not as good as some of the people who want to regenerate us." "But," said another, "we must have some kind of a religious organization and after awhile some of us will get together and form a church society."[80]

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[80] In 1876 William Alfred Hinds visited the Zoar community and gave a very interesting account of the religious phase of the village life at that time. We quote from his conversation with one of the oldest members. Jacob Ackerman was then acting as the religious leader, he having been selected to that informal and rather nondescript office by the Society. Hinds asked:

"Did Ackerman, your present leader, directly succeed Baumeler, your first leader?"

"No. Baumeler died August 27, 1853. As his successor we unanimously appointed Jacob Sylvan—a good writer, but no speaker. Christian Weebel read his discourses for him. After Sylvan's death, October 13, 1862, Weebel took the spiritual lead; but the majority of the members were not fully satisfied, and in 1871 Jacob Ackerman was appointed, he being the oldest trustee, and having labored hard for the Society. We desired to honor him."

"What peculiar ceremonies have you?"

"None at all."

"How do you regard the Bible?"

"We believe in both the Old and New Testament, and in Christ as the Savior of the world."

"What great objects have you as a Community?"

"Our object is to get into heaven, and help others to get there."

"Do you expect your system will sometime be generally accepted?"

"I formerly believed it would spread all over the world. I thought every body would come into Communistic relations. I believe so still, but I don't know how far our particular system will prevail. In heaven there is only Communism, and why should it not be our aim to prepare ourselves in this world for the society we are sure to enter there? If we can get rid of our wilfulness and selfishness here, there is so much done for heaven."

"That is a good point, certainly; but haven't you confidence in the perpetuity of your Community?"

"I will not undertake to decide the question of its perpetuity. If God wishes to have it continued He will see that it is done."

BIMELER'S EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE.

A study of the constitution of the Society impresses one with the ability and astuteness displayed in its provisions. It confers the rights of equality and universal democracy upon the members of the community while at the same time it deftly, and to a cautious degree, institutes a "one man" power. This latter feature is embodied in Article III, creating the office and defining the scope of the authority of an "Agent General." This unique public function was contrived solely for the benefit, and as far

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"Joseph Baumeler was a remarkable man, I judge?"

"Yes; when he was our leader we knew everything would come out all right. He had the superintendence of our business, and he was at the same time our preacher, and cared for the spiritual interest of the Community. He was also our physician. He was, indeed, a remarkable man."

Jacob Ackerman is so sincere that he frankly admits that he is a little discouraged about the future of Zoar—discouraged because the younger generation do not come under the same earnestness that controlled the original members. They fall into the fashions and ways of the world, and will not brook the restraints that religious Communism requires. The unfavorable condition of Zoar in this respect may well excite reflection. Evidently it is not enough that a Community had a religious afflatus and intelligent, earnest men at its beginning. It must find means to keep that afflatus alive and strong, and to replace its founders, as occasion requires, with men of equal intelligence and earnestness; and to this end *ordinances* become of great value.

The ordinances of the Zoar Community are few and weak. They have nothing answering to mutual criticism, and no meetings except on Sunday, and these are not generally attended, and are not of a kind to elicit special interest or enthusiasm. I was present at one of them. Not more than one-third of the members were there. The women sat on one side, the men on the other, both facing the desk, from which Jacob Ackerman read one of the discourses of Baumeler. The reading was preceded and followed by the singing of a hymn, with the accompaniment of a small organ. No one except Ackerman said a word; and he confined himself entirely to reading. There is no meeting, I was informed, in which all take part—where all hearts flow together in unity and devotion. Is it any wonder that the young people stay away, and that they lose their attraction for Community life? A Community should be an enlarged home, differing from the small home only in its increased attractions and its greater facilities for improving character." Hinds' American Communities, pg. 29, et seq.

as it might be such, for the aggrandisement, of Joseph M. Bimeler. By Article I, regulating elections, it will be observed, that the Agent General was to be elected, "unlimited in term, as long as he possessed the confidence of the Society." But this Consul for Life seems nowhere to have attempted to improve or abuse the Napoleonic opportunity entrusted to him. Bimeler was a most remarkable character. He must have been possessed not only of unusual acumen but invincible probity. In a wider field and under more favorable circumstances he might have become a great and a national leader. It is to be seriously regretted that more is not now known of his origin, early life and personal incidents of his career. I failed to learn the date or place of his birth or whether he came from Württemberg, Bavaria or Baden, as all those sections of Germany contributed members to the original (1817) emigration. It is claimed that Bimeler was not primarily the protagonist of the communistic scheme for the Zoarites but that his fellow settlers in the pioneer home discerning his elements of popular premiership, advocated the community of property and equality of person in order to forestall his superiority and their subordination.[31]

As we have previously noted in this article, the emigrants settled in primitive huts and cabins as separate families. Any surplus earnings, saved above their needs, were to be applied to the purchase of a proportionate division of the land, held by Bimeler in trust. But they made little headway. The poorer, the older and the feeble could not hold their own. After two years of this unequal struggle, several of the shrewder members, who were jealous or fearful of Bimeler's growing supremacy, proposed a common proprietorship. They urged this plan upon the necessity of protecting the infirm and the indigent. This project was not original or new to the proposers. They had the example of the "Harmonists" before them. Bimeler, it is said, reluctantly yielded to the communists. But once committed to it, he was its soul and mind, the "guiding spirit of all their enterprises." And it is to his indefatigable labors and

[31] History of Tuscarawas County, published by Werner, Beers & Co., Chicago, 1884.

well directed efforts, it must be acknowledged, the Society was indebted for its growth and prosperity.

Bimeler is attributed with no greater ambition than the desire to have his fellow countrymen comfortably settled in their new habitation, freed from debt and enjoying all the benefits of "the land of the free and the home of the brave." He was bound to his people with ties of deep and sincere sympathy. He was the head of a great family, — and his guidance was a patriarchal one. He was the first and only pastor of the Society, and conducted its religious services during his life time. In this respect, as we have shown, he had no successor and the religious life as well as the financial growth of the commuity culminated under Bimeler's administration.[32] He was not only their spiritual guide and adviser and agent in all temporal things, but he was also "their physician to heal their bodily infirmities." He controlled and managed everything.[33] Certainly we have record of few men so complete in character, so rounded in attainments and so versatile in talent. He is credited with great social qualities and while austere and decisive when dealing with his people as occasion required, he nevertheless was genial and hospitable.[34]

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[32] They are tenants in common, and each member of the Community thinks of advancing his own interest only by furthering that of the whole. They are called to a particular stand every morning, and to each are assigned their respective labors for the day, by their director. Their perfect harmony of feeling, unity of interest, simplicity of manner, universal frugality and untiring industry, directed by an able financier, have enriched the whole, and have brought their premises into the highest state of cultivation.

Jenkins' Ohio Gazetteer (1837), pg. 491.

[33] Bimeler was the main engine; he had to do all the thinking, preaching and pulling the rest along. While he had strength all went on seemingly very well; but as his strength began to fail the whole concern went on slowly. I arrived the week after his death. The members looked like a flock of sheep who had lost their shepherd. Bimeler appointed a well-meaning man for his successor, but as he was not Bimeler, he could not put his engine before the train. Every member pushed forward or pulled back just as he thought proper; and their thinking was a poor affair, as they were not used to it.

Noyes' History of American Socialisms, pg. 136.

[34] Henry Howe's visit to Zoar, 1846, related in Howe's History of Ohio.

An Old Home.

He won their affection as well as their respect. One tradition is that he acquired his position of influence and superiority by his gentle manner and tender solicitude and kindness to the sick on the vessel during the voyage to America. But the better belief is that he was agreed upon as their Moses before they left their Fatherland, for it is known that he was a recognized teacher and leader among the German Separatists previous to their departure.

We have alluded to the comfortable, if not rather luxurious, mode of life indulged in by Bimeler. Aside from that there nowhere appears any evidence of his taking any advantage of his prestige. That he was incorruptibly honest is universally acknowledged. He had unquestioned full control of the commercial affairs of the Society and no charge of mismanagement, much less misappropriation, was ever brought against him. He held in his own name the title of all the property of the Society. The trusteeship was not set forth in Haga's deed to Bimeler but ten days before his death, by will, he acknowledged the trust and bequeathed it all to the "Society of the Separatists of Zoar."[35] The will and testament of Mr. Bimeler is a model document and we herewith insert it in full:

I, JOSEPH MICHAEL BIMELER, of Zoar, Tuscarawas County, and State of Ohio, being weak in body, but of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, do make and publish this as my last will and testament. That is to say: I give and bequeath all my property, real, personal, and mixed, of whatever kind, be the same in lands, tenements, trust or otherwise, bonds, notes, claims book accounts, or other evidences of debt of whatever nature, to the Society of Separatists of Zoar, and its assigns, forever; hereby declaring that all the property I ever held, real and personal, within the county of Tuscarawas, has been the property of said Society, and was held by me in trust for said Society, to which I now return it.

And I do hereby appoint John G. Grozinger, Jacob Silvan and Jacob Ackerman, trustees of said Society, as my executors, to carry this, my last will, into effect.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, this sixteenth day of August, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three.

[SEAL.] JOSEPH M. BIMELER.

[35] Michener's Annals of Ohio, p. 326.

SIGNED, sealed and declared by the above named J. M. Bimeler, as his last will and testament, in presence of us (the words "and its assigns forever", interlined before signing).

JACOB BLICKENSDERFER,
JOSEPH C. HANCE.

In personal appearance Bimeler is described as unprepossessing. "He was physically imperfect, one of his eyes was much larger and more prominent than the other," and as already stated, he was lame and walked with difficulty. I sought diligently for some picture or portrait of Bimeler, but was informed none was ever known to exist. He was averse to being reproduced in "living colors on the glowing canvas," probably for obvious reasons. We have reverted again to Bimeler's characteristics that he may be accorded just position in the history of Zoar. Unquestionably his strong personality was the main force that held the Society together and impelled it to the zenith of its career. There was no one to fill his place; indeed, had his equal been found to succeed him, it is doubtful if the Society could still have prospered or even continued unabated.[36] The internal conditions were no longer the same and the external influences were different and decidedly adverse.

Thus reads the recital of "the strange, eventful history" of the Zoar community. The beautiful little berg, "loveliest village of the plain," has burst the bonds of its seclusion and—in the phrase of the day—joined the procession of American progress. It could not stem the tide of conventional civilization. What its future may be, time alone will disclose. Surely there can be no one who has seen or known those simple and true-hearted people that will not grant them the hearty wish of Rip Van Winkle — "May they live long and prosper."

CONCLUSION.

From the days when philosopher Plato wrote his ideal *Republic* (400 B. C.) down to More's *Utopia* (1516 A. D.) and

[36] The facts of the history of the principal Communistic Societies of the United States "teach that in proportion as a community loses the afflatus of its first leaders and relies upon doctrines and the machinery of governments, it tends to death; in other words, a community needs, for its growth and progress in all stages of its career, a living power at its center not inferior to that which it had in the beginning."
Hinds' American Communities, p. 153.

on to the latest scheme, Bellamy's Equality, the political thinker and sympathetic socialist has ever exercised the utmost powers of his imagination to conceive of a perfected state of society in which all shall be equal in rights, privileges, possessions and enjoyments. America has been a fruitful field for such experiments. Twice in our later social history have there been epidemics in communism — revivals in socialistic experiments, viz: in 1824, when Robert Owen visited this country and through the ardent advocacy of his views attracted a large following known as "Owenites." Many efforts were made to practically carry out his delusive doctrines. Those efforts were all short-lived and financially disastrous. Again in 1840 the teachings of the French Fourier (1772-1837) were popularly promulgated in the United States and encouraged by many distinguished American scholars and writers. American Fourierism is particularly interesting from the intellectual and literary coloring it received. That picturesque and grotesque association for "agriculture and education," the famous Brook Farm (1842) in which our most brilliant *litterateurs* participated, was one of the conspicuous products of the Fourier movement.

It has been stated that beginning with the Jamestown colony (1607), down to the latest one of note, that of Ruskin, Tennessee (1894), some three hundred communistic societies, in various phases, have been attempted in the United States. Their average life has been about five years and there are alive to-day perhaps twenty-five, mostly leading a precarious existence. The delightful dream of Bellamy has experienced many rude awakenings. The plucky little Society of Zoar has run its course and fought the good fight. Their simple record is one of earnest endeavor and honest toil. The chronicler of the times should not fail to faithfully recount their deeds and write on memory's tablet the description of those Zoar days when the peaceful villagers,

> "Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
> Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
> Along the cool sequestered vale of life,
> They kept the noiseless tenor of their way."

LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

We should regard this article incomplete unless accompanied by the documents herewith appended. They mostly speak for themselves. The articles of Association of April 1819 and the amended articles of March 1824 have already been given on pages 7-10 ante.

Articles of Incorporation.

TO INCORPORATE THE SOCIETY OF SEPARATISTS OF ZOAR, TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That Joseph M. Bimeler, John G. Grosinger, Jacob Syfong, Michael Fetters, Christopher Plotz, John George Lepold, Solomon Sala, George Aukerman, Jacob Walz, Christian Hanzler, John Neff, Lewis Buck, Philip Sell, George Ruff, Godfrey Kapple, Christian Weible, Conrad Lebold, John C. Fetter, John Miller and John Fogle, and their associates be, and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, by the name of "The Society of Separatists of Zoar," with perpetual succession; and by their corporate name, may contract and be contracted with, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, in all courts of all and equity, in this State and elsewhere; may have a common seal, which they may break, alter, or renew at pleasure; shall be capable of holding property, real, personal and mixed; either by purchase, gift, grant, devise or legacy; and may sell, alien, dispose of and convey the same; and the property and other concerns of the corporation, shall be under the management and control of Trustees appointed for that purpose; and said corporation shall have power to form a constitution and adopt by-laws for its government; to prescribe the number and title of its officers; and define their several powers and duties; to prescribe the manner in which members may be admitted and dismissed; and all other powers necessary for its corporate concerns: *Provided,* That said constitution, by-laws, rules and regulations be consistent with the constitution and laws of the United States and this State; and *Provided,* also, that the clear annual income of said Society shall not exceed one thousand dollars.

Section 2. That the persons named in the first section of this act, or any three of them, may call a meeting of the society, by giving ten days' notice thereof, by advertisement set up at the place of public worship in the village of Zoar, for the purpose of forming a constitution and adopting by-laws for the government of said society, and of doing such other business as may be necessary for the efficient management of said corporation.

SECTION 3. That the members of said society, or such number of them, as by said laws shall be necessary, shall meet annually on the second Tuesday of May, at the place of holding public worship, for the purpose of electing officers of said corporation.

SECTION 4. That any future Legislature may amend or repeal this act: *Provided,* such amendment or repeal shall not affect the title of any real or personal estate, acquired or conveyed under its provisions, or divert the same to any other purpose than that originally intended.

W. B. HUBBARD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

WM. DOHERTY,
Speaker of the Senate.

February 6th, 1832.

AMENDED ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

An Act to amend the act entitled, "An act to incorporate the Society of Separatists of Zoar, in Tuscarawas County.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Ohio,* That so much of the second section of the act entitled, "An act to incorporate the Society of Separatists of Zoar, Tuscarawas County," passed February sixth, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-two, as limits the clear annual income of said society to one thousand dollars, be and the same is hereby repealed; and the society are hereby authorized to receive a clear annual income of any sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars.

SECTION 2. That if said society, for any cause, shall not elect officers on the day specified in said act, then any five members of the society may order an election by giving at least ten days' notice by posting up printed or written notices of the time and place of holding such election in three of the most public places in the village of Zoar, one of which shall be at the place of holding public worship.

SECTION 3. The fourth section of the act, to which this is an amendment, be and the same is hereby repealed.

SECTION 4. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

ELIAS F. DRAKE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SEABURY FORD,
Speaker of the Senate.

February 21, 1846.

Articles of Agreement Signed by Those Becoming Members of the First or Probationary Class.

We, the undersigned, members of the first class of Separatists, party of the first part, and George Gasely, Jacob Ackerman and Christian Ruof, trustees elect, and their successors in office, of the Separatists' Society of Zoar, in the County of Tuscarawas, and State of Ohio, party of the second part, have, through confidence mutually reposed in one another, established and by these presents do establish the following rules and principles of social compact for the better fulfillment of the duties of mankind, which we owe to one another, and also for the furtherance of our spiritual and temporal welfare and happiness.

ARTICLE I.

We, the said party of the first part, do declare, that by our own free will and accord we have agreed and by these presents do agree and bind ourselves to labor, obey and execute all the orders of said trustees and their successors in office; and from the day of the date hereof henceforth to use all our industry and skill in behalf of the exclusive benefit and welfare of the said Separatists' Society of Zoar, and continue to do so, as long as strength and health will permit, to the entire satisfaction of the said trustees and their successors in office.

ARTICLE II.

And we do also hereby agree and bind ourselves firmly by these present, to put our minor children under the care and control of the said trustees and their successors in office, in the same manner as if they had been bound by indentures to serve and dwell with them and their successors in office, for and during the term of their minority, subject to all the duties and likewise entitled to the same rights and protection as indentured children by law are subject and entitled to, until they shall have attained their proper age as defined by the statutes of the State of Ohio.

ARTICLE III.

And the said trustees do hereby for themselves and their successors in office, agree and bind themselves to furnish the said party of the first part with suitable dwelling, board and clothing, free of cost, the clothing to consist at any time of not less than two suits, including the clothes brought by the said party of the first part to this society; and in case of sickness, necessary care and attendance is hereby promised to the said party of the first part; and this performance of the trustees and their successors in office shall be considered by the party of the first part a full compensation for all their labors and services, done either

by themselves or their minor children, without any further claim or demands whatever.

ARTICLE IV.

Good and moral behavior, such as is enjoined by strict observance to the principles of Holy Writ, are by both parties hereby promised to be observed; hence, it is clearly understood that all profane language, immoral words and acts, which may cause offense amongst the other members of this community, are not only wholly to be avoided, but, on the contrary, all are to endeavor to set good examples and to cherish general and mutual love.

ARTICLE V.

The object of this agreement being, furthermore, to preserve peace and unity, and as such can only be maintained by a general equality among its members, it is, therefore, severally understood and declared that no extra demands shall be made or allowed in respect to meat, drink, clothing, dwellings, etc. (cases of sickness excepted), but such, if any can be allowed to exist, may and shall be obtained by individuals through means of their own and never out of the common fund.

ARTICLE VI.

All moneys, which the said party of the first part either now possesses or hereafter may receive into their possession, shall without delay be deposited in the common fund of this society, for which a receipt, payable on demand, is to be given; but upon the request of said party of the first part, in order to procure extra necessaries, as the case may be, a part or the whole of said deposit shall be refunded to the owner.

ARTICLE VII.

All manner of misunderstanding and differences shall be settled by way of arbitration and not otherwise; that is, by a body of three or five persons, to be chosen by both parties, and their decision shall be binding on both parties.

ARTICLE VIII.

All rules and regulations contained in the foregoing articles (if any there be which are not plain enough or are subject to misapprehension) shall be so understood as never to be in opposition to but always in perfect accordance with the morals, usages, principles and regulations of the members of the second class of the Separatists' Society of Zoar.

ARTICLE IX.

These articles being fully and fairly understood, to their strict and faithful performance, both parties bind themselves in the most

solemn manner, jointly and severally, their children, heirs, executors, administrators and successors in office by the penal sum of fifty dollars, current money of the United States of America.

ARTICLE X.

If, in consequence of the foregoing, a penalty upon any one of the parties to this agreement shall be laid, then, in case of refusal or non-compliance, the party so refusing may be prosecuted for the same before any magistrate or justice of the peace in the township, county and state wherein the defendant may reside, and judgment may be had agreeable to the laws of this state; and said magistrate or justice of the peace shall forthwith proceed to collect such penalty and pay it over to the party who, by law, is entitled to the same. In testimony whereof, both parties have hereunto set their hands and seals this 14th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1833.

Translation of the Constitution of the Separatist Society of Zoar.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SEPARATIST SOCIETY OF ZOAR.

Pursuant to an act of the Legislature of the State of Ohio, passed A. D. 1832, No. 126, entitled: "An Act to Incorporate the Society of Separatists of Zoar, Tuscarawas, County, Ohio," we, the undersigned members of said Separatist Society of Zoar and its vicinity have found it expedient to renovate our hitherto existing Constitution, as contained in the following articles:

In the name of God the Father, and Jesus Christ, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.

In order furthermore to secure to our consciences that satisfaction, proceeding from the faithful execution of those duties which the Christian religion demands, and to plant and establish the Spirit of Love as the bond of Peace and Unity for a permanent foundation of social order for ourselves and our posterity forever, we, therefore, seek and desire, in accordance to pure Christian principles, to unite our various individual interests into one common stock and conformably with the example of the Primitive Christians, all inequalities and distinctions of rank and fortune shall be abolished from amongst us, and, consequently, to live as brethren and sisters of one common family.

Flower Garden in Center of Village.

Pursuant to the foregoing principle and resolution, we, voluntarily, unite and bind ourselves by this joint agreement, under the name and title of Separatist Society of Zoar. And we obligate ourselves, each to the other, that we will hold to the following articles and rules, that we will observe and support the same to the best of our abilities, which from the day of the date thereof, shall be in force and virtue in law:

ARTICLE I.

REGULATING ELECTIONS.

All elections, for the divers necessary officers of the Society, shall, agreeable with the provisions of the act of incorporation, be held on the second Tuesday of May, annually, and in accordance with the statute of the State of Ohio, be decided by ballot and majority of votes. On said election day shall annually be elected one Trustee (extraordinary circumstances excepted); annually, one member to the Standing Committee; quadrennially one Cashier, and one Agent General unlimited in term, as long as he possesseth the confidence of the Society.

The time and place, when and where the election shall be holden, also the number and kind of officers to be elected, shall be made known by the Trustees of the Society, at least twenty days previous to the election, for which purpose the Society, or any ten members thereof, shall, at each election, appoint a committee of four persons whose duty it shall be to conduct the election in conformity to the laws of this country.

The Society shall elect all its officers from amongst the members thereof, whereby special reference shall be had to the necessary and requisite qualifications, integrity and faithfulness of the candidates.

ARTICLE II.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES AND THEIR DUTIES.

The Society shall elect from amongst its members three suitable persons as its Directors or Trustees, and their successors in office, who shall take charge of the joint property of all undersigned members. Said Trustees shall, as stated in the first article, be elected by majority and agreeable to the following regulations: The majority for three years; second majority for two years, and third majority for one year, and after the expiration of one year, annually one Trustee. Should the case occur, that two or more candidates of one and the same office receive an equal number of votes, then the balloting shall be repeated, until a legal majority be obtained. Each Trustee may remain in office for three years in succession unless circumstances to the contrary, such as death, sickness, absence, refusing to serve, etc., render such impossible; or in case the misconduct of any one of said Trustees cause the Society to discharge one or the other, and to fill such vacancy, as said Society may choose, which

right of discharging and replacing, the said Society reserves itself, before the expiration of the ordinary term of three years, or even of one year. Yet, each Trustee shall remain so long in office, until his successor be chosen.

Said Trustees are hereby empowered and in duty bound to take charge of all the property, real and personal, which this Society, either now or in the future, may possess, including all property of newly accepted members, movable and immovable, of whatever name and description it may be; likewise are they authorized to receive all kinds of legacies, donations and personal claims, in fine every species of property to which any one of the members may at any time have just claim, to demand and collect the same by legal proceedings, and shall appropriate and apply the same conscientiously to the best of their knowledge and skill, in behalf and for the exclusive benefit, use and advantage of said Society. And it shall also be the duty of said Trustees, carefully to furnish each member, without respect to person, with board, clothing and dwelling and other necessaries, alike in days of sickness and of health, as good as circumstances will allow. Said Trustees shall furthermore take charge of the economical affairs of this Society, to consult over and direct all the business, and consequently to assign to each individual member its duty and work to be performed, to which at least the majority of said Trustees, if not all of them, shall be agreed. Said Trustees are hereby empowered to appoint sub-trustees or agents, as many and to whatever purposes they may see proper and necessary, and all such sub-trustees or agents shall be responsible to the said Trustees for all their transactions. Said Trustees shall fill the different branches of economy with suitable persons, who shall conduct the same subject to the control of said Trustees, and liable to like responsibility for the conduction thereof as other sub-trustees or agents. But all resolutions in regard to important undertakings shall be submitted to and subject to the approbation of the Standing Committee, and said Trustees shall at all times be responsible for all their transactions to said Standing Committee. Casual discord, differences and misunderstandings, shall throughout, by way of arbitration, be settled amicably by the Trustees of said Society. In case that this cannot be accomplished by and through said Trustees, then the court of arbitration or appeal, cited in subsequent articles, shall solely decide.

As the said Trustees are, by this article, bound to maintain and promote peace and order in the Society, they are furthermore hereby authorized to propose to the board of arbitration or standing committee such regulations and improvements calculated to facilitate those purposes, and if a majority of both bodies approve of the measures thus proposed, as proper and necessary, they shall thereupon be recommended to be observed as such, provided that such amendments be in no wise contradictory to these articles.

ARTICLE III.

ELECTION AND DUTIES OF THE AGENT GENERAL.

In order, partly to simplify, and likewise in many instances to ease the business and duties of the Trustees, the Society shall elect an Agent General who shall act for and in the name of said Society. He is hereby authorized to buy and to sell, make and conclude contracts, and to discontinue or annul them again; to employ agents beyond the circle of the Society, and to correspond with them; also to issue, and again to accept orders; to direct and to superintend, to the welfare of the Society, all its trading and commercial concerns; in fine, all affairs, which, in any wise appertain to the aforesaid line of business, of whatever name, shape and description they may be, shall be carried on under his direction and superintendence. In like manner shall all the manufactures and similar works be under his superintending care, to the furtherance and improvement of which he shall pay due regard and so regulate them in such a way and manner, as he shall from time to time find it most conducive to the general good of said Society.

The Agent General shall furthermore be entitled to appoint sub-agents, when and as many as he shall stand in need of, who shall be empowered to transact, in his name, all such business as he shall see proper to charge them with, and said sub-agents shall be held responsible to the Agent General for all their transactions. And said Agent General shall, in appointing sub-agents, act by and with the consent of the Trustees, whose concurrence shall also be necessary in all undertakings of moment and importance. And for the due administration of the powers and duties hereby committed to his care and charge, he shall be accountable to the Standing Committee of the Society.

All deeds, mortgages and similar instruments of writing shall be executed in the name of the Trustees, and be placed to the safekeeping of the Agent General.

ARTICLE IV.

ELECTION AND DUTIES OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

By virtue of these articles the Society shall elect from amongst its members a Standing Committee, which shall consist of five persons, but in case a vacancy of one or two members thereof should occur, either by death, sickness, absence or otherwise, then the three remaining members shall be capable of transacting business, until the next succeeding election. This committee shall be invested with the concentrated power of said Society, and shall execute all those duties which are marked out for it in this constitution. In all extraordinary cases shall this Standing Committee serve as a Court of Appeal, and shall, as the highest tribunal, be hereby empowered, to decide as such, and the judgment thereof shall be final and binding in all cases, provided, that no complaint shall be brought

before it for decision, except by way of appeal, that is, in case one or both of the contending parties should be dissatisfied with the decision of the Trustees. Trustees can never at the same time be members of this committee. The election of said committee shall be so regulated that annually one member to said committee shall be elected, and that each member hold the office for five years successively, and are at all times eligible again, as long as they possess the confidence of said Society.

ARTICLE V.

ELECTION OF THE CASHIER AND HIS DUTIES.

The Society shall choose a Cashier or Treasurer, to be elected for the term of four years, and shall after the expiration of such term be eligible again, as long as the Society entrust him with the station. Said Cashier shall take charge of, and duly administer to all its financial concerns, and beside him none of the members shall be entitled to hold any money without order from the Cashier; even the Trustees and the Agent General shall deliver up all monies, notes, bonds, checks, etc., as belonging to the Society, into the treasury without delay, and every transgressor of this provision shall by any member or person whosoever, be prosecuted for the same before the Trustees of the Society, and shall be treated by them according to the provisions of the tenth article.

It shall also be the duty of the Cashier to appropriate and apply all monies received, conformably to the direction of the Trustees, the Agent General and the Standing Committee, exclusively to the benefit of the Society; to pay the Society's debts; defray its general necessaries, and to credit said Trustees with the surplus fund. All and every person who have charge over any one or more of the branches of economy, shall hand in their accounts to the Cashier at such time as he shall see proper to order the same. And the Trustees are hereby entitled to request from the Cashier an annual account of his transactions, if they deem it necessary.

The Cashier shall have the right, if circumstances require it, to appoint a clerk to keep regular records of elections, and of such other important measures, which the divers officers shall deem necessary.

ARTICLE VI.

DELIVERY OF PROPERTY, AND DUTIES OF THE MEMBERS.

We, the undersigned, members second class of the Separatist Society of Zoar, declare by these presents, that all our property, of all and every description, which we either now or in future may possess, movable or immovable, or both; together with all claims, titles, rights, devise and legacies, etc., of whatever kind and name they may be, as well for our own selves, as our descendants, heirs, executors and administrators, shall

be forever given up to said Society, with the express condition, that such property shall, from the date of the signature of each member, forever henceforth, consequently after the death of each respective member, be and remain the exclusive property of said Society. Also do we promise and bind ourselves, most faithfully and industriously to execute all the orders and regulations of said Trustees and their sub-trustees or agents, without opposition and murmuring; and we likewise agree to apply all our strength, good will, industry and skill, for life, to the general benefit of said Society, and to the satisfaction of its Trustees. Likewise do we promise and agree, under the same conditions and regulations, to place our children, whilst they are in a state of minority, under the directions and regulations of said Trustees, in same manner, as if they were legally bounden by lawful indenture, to them and their successors in office, until they shall have attained their proper age, as defined by the laws of this State.

ARTICLE VII.

ACCEPTANCE OF MEMBERS.

In accepting new members, the following rule and order is to be observed: Each and every person wishing and desiring to become a member of the second class of this Society shall first of all have attained to the lawful age, that is, a male person shall be twenty-one and a female eighteen years of age; secondly, shall such person or persons have lived in, and dwelled with the Society, for the term of at least one year, and shall have been a member of the first class, of this Society, (without exception, if even born and educated in the Society) and provided, that they have faithfully fulfilled the contract, previously concluded with the Trustees of this Society at their entrance into the first class. If such person or persons can show forth the aforementioned qualifications, and the resolution not being prematurely made, but who, by their own free will and accord, self-convinced, are so resolved, such person or persons, shall make known their intention to one or more of the Trustees, whose duty it shall be to hear such person or persons, and if, after having taken the applicant's motives into consideration, no well-founded causes for rejection or postponement be found, then said Trustees shall make it known to the Society at least thirty days previous, and appoint the time and place, when and where such signing shall be performed; and if, during such interval no complaints or objections from the part of the Society, or any of its individual members against such person or persons be made, thereupon they may be admitted to the signing of this constitution, and after signing such, are thereby constituted members of the second class of the Society and shall be considered and treated as such; provided, that, in case such new member shall have kept secret any of its contracted debts or other obligations, foreign to the Society, such member shall have forfeited all

privileges and rights of membership, in case sufficient proof be found to establish the fact.

ARTICLE VIII.

EDUCATION INSTITUTE.

In accordance with this article the Society shall keep or establish a general education institute for all the children in the community, at the head of which such male or female overseers shall be placed, whose qualifications shall be found best suited for said purpose. And agreeable to this proviso, all the parents of children in this Society, bind themselves by these presents, to deliver up and place their children, after having arrived at the third year of their age, or sooner, to the overseers of said institution, where such children shall receive, according to their age and faculties, appropriate education and tuition. Said overseers shall be chosen and engaged by the Standing Committee, subject to the express duty, that they shall exert their best endeavors and care to give those children, placed under their care, as well in moral as physical consideration, the best possible education, thereby having in view, not only the attainments of scientific branches of knowledge, but also gradually to train them to performing the divers branches of manual labor. And it is hereby made the duty of said committee to keep a strict superintendence over this institution; and they shall also be authorized to place such children, as soon as their age, abilities and bodily constitution will permit, under the control of the Trustees, who shall give them such employment, as they may be able to perform.

ARTICLE IX.

POWER OF THE TRUSTEES TO COLLECT AND TAKE CHARGE OF HERITAGES, ETC.

This article authorizeth and empowereth the Trustees and their successors in office, in the name of the Society, to hold and take possession of all remaining property of deceased members, with all their rights, titles and claims whatsoever, to demand, or cause the same to be demanded and collected; and finally, they are hereby invested, as the universal heirs in the name of the Society, to act with full right and power, as if such deceased person or persons were yet living, themselves demanded and acquitted for the same; hence, the children, friends and relatives, whether they be in or without the Society, can not be or become heirs to such an heritage of a deceased member, since all property forever is, and shall remain the portion of said Society. And the Trustees of said Society are, and shall be hereby authorized to empower other suitable persons in or out of the Society, to demand and collect, or cause to be demanded and collected, monies, estates and effects of persons either yet living or deceased, in same manner, as if such person or persons, for whom such was done, had themselves demanded and collected the same, received it and receipted therefor.

ARTICLE X.

CONTENTIONS, ETC.

Casual contentions between two or more members, and complaints of whatever kind and description they may be, shall be brought before the Trustees and by them to be examined and settled. But, in case one or the other party should not be satisfied with the decision of said Trustees, or should any one or more of the Trustees themselves be envolved in such contentions, etc, then appeal may be had to the Standing Committee or Court of Appeal, whose decisions shall in all cases be final and binding; whosoever shall act contrary to this provision, and will not be satisfied with their judgment looseth and debarreth him or herself of all further enjoyments and rights of a member.

ARTICLE XI.

SECEDING MEMBERS.

Should any member or members find cause to secede from the Society, they shall make known such their intentions to one or more of the Trustees, whose duty it shall be to notify the Society thereof, in order that if any complaints be existing against such member or members, they may betimes brought forward to said Trustees, who shall thenceforward act in respect to them agreeable to all the attending circumstances. But should any seceding member or members, unknowingly to the Trustees, have contracted any debt or debts upon the community, or been the cause of subjecting the Society to any costs or injury, in such case said member or members shall make satisfactory restitution, or otherwise render such indemnification as the said Trustees shall demand, and in case such seceder or seceders should not content themselves with the judgment of said Trustees and refuse to make such satisfactory restitution, in that case both parties, the Trustees and seceding members, shall be entitled to an appeal to the Standing Committee, and the decision thereof shall in all cases be binding and final. Should any person or persons, notwithstanding this provision, be dissatisfied, and apply to a court of justice beyond the limits of the Society for assistance, in such case they are also hereby bound to render due indemnification for all damages and loss of time thereby caused to and sustained by said Society.

In case any seceding person should refuse to comply with the demands of the Trustees, in pursuance of the decision of the Standing Committee, the Trustees shall be authorized to prosecute such person or persons, and by course of law to bring them, or cause them to be brought to the due fulfillment of the duty or payment as aforesaid. Furthermore shall the committee be authorized to act in like manner with all those, who can account of acting contrary to duty and good order, have been expelled

from the Society, to expunge their names and signatures, and to excommunicate them from all further enjoyment and right of a member of this Society. Neither the seceding persons, who leave the Society of their own accord, nor those who are expelled therefrom, can ever, by virtue of their signatures, and by the provisions of this article, under no pretense whatever, in no wise, make any demand or claim, either upon property brought to the Society, or for their labor, or any other services, which they may have rendered the Society, in whatever the same shall have consisted, notwithstanding; yet such person or persons may, if they choose, submit such their pretensions to the Standing Committee, whose opinion shall decide, whether or not, or under what condition such applicants shall be entitled to receive any indemnity.

All judgments of the committee, issued pursuant to the foregoing prescriptions, shall be made out in writing and recorded in a book to be kept for that purpose, which shall in all courts of law and equity be considered as valid and incontestable. Each given judgment of said committee shall be handed over to one or more of the Trustees, by virtue of which he or they are authorized to execute such judgment, or cause it to be executed, either on voluntary terms, or by the ordinary process of law.

This constitution shall never, in any wise, be broken or annulled by dissatisfied or seceding members.

ARTICLE XII.

CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION.

The Society can at any time, whenever deemed expedient and necessary, alter this their constitution, or any one of the articles thereof, or add thereto, provided, that such alteration or addition shall always be founded upon the principles of Unity and Conservation of the Society, and only then practicable if at least two-thirds of all the members be in favor of it. In no wise shall this present renewed constitution ever be viewed as declaring or representing ineffectual and void the articles signed by the members on the fifteenth day of April, 1819, and those of the fifteenth day of March, A. D. 1824; on the contrary, said articles shall be acknowledged as the basis to this present constitution.

All unintelligibleness, equivocation, or deficiency, which, peradventure, might exist in this constitution, shall always be construed and treated in favor of the Society, and never to the advantage of individual members.

At least annually, at a suitable time, shall this constitution be publicly read at the place of public meeting.

Written and concluded in Zoar, Tuscarawas county, State of Ohio, the fourteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty and three.

HARVEST SCENE.

Incorporation of the Village of Zoar.

To the Honorable, the Board of Commissioners of the County of Tuscarawas, and State of Ohio:

The undersigned householders, resident in the Town of Zoar, Tuscarawas county, Ohio, respectfully ask the following territory with the village of Zoar as its center, be incorporated and be known and designated as the incorporated Village of Zoar, to-wit: Beginning in the middle of the E. line of the 4th qr. of Tp. 10 in Range 2 of the U. S. Military lands, thence W. on a line parallel with the S. line of said qr., Tp. 400 rods to the middle thereof, thence N. by a line parallel with the E. line of said qr. Tp. 400 rods to the middle of the N. line of said qr. Tp., crossing said line and continuing N. in the same direction 80 rods to a point, thence E. on a parallel line with the N. line of said qr. Tp. 560 rods, to the S. W. corner of 40 acres, belonging to the estate of D. K. Nixon, in the N. half of Sec. 15 in Tp. 10 and Range 1, thence due S. through lands of the Zoar Society, by a parallel line with the W. line of said Sec. 480 — to the road leading from John Bayley's farm to Zoar, thence W. in the said road and crossing the road leading from Zoar Station to Zoar, and also crossing the Tuscarawas river, in the same direction 160 rods to the place of beginning. The proposed number of inhabitants residing in the proposed corporation is about three hundred and twenty (320). The petitioners hereby appoint Simon Beiter as their agent.

Jacob Ackermann, Sr.,	John Groetzinger,
John G. Ruof,	Samuel Ricker,
Samuel Harr,	Levi Bimeler,
Clemens Breil,	Jacob Breymaier,
Andrew Goutenbem,	David Beuter,
Christian Ruof,	Lorenz Fritz,
Obed Ruof,	Frederick Breil,
Louis Zimmerman,	Solomon Breil,
Simon Beiter, Sr.,	Julius Notter,
Jacob Burkhart,	Jonathan Benter,
Anton Burkhart,	Benjamin Ricker,
Gottlieb Seiz,	Simon Beiter, Jr.,
Sebastian Burkhart,	Jacob Kuemmerle,
Joseph Breymaier,	John Ricker,
August Neumann,	Christian Hoyh,
Jakob Ricker,	John Ruof,
Charles Zimmerman,	Charles Breil,
Edward Beuter,	William Kappel,
Christian Ackermann,	Wm. Ehlers,
Christian J. Ruof, Jr.,	Michael Mueller,
John Breymaier,	Henry Ehlers,

DAVID BREYMAIER,
JOHN NOTTER,
BAINARD BEUTER,
BURNHART BEITER,
JOHN KUECHERER,
JOHN STURM,
JOHN C. BREYMAIER,
BENJAMIN BEITER,
JACOB ACKERMANN, JR.,
JOHN D. BIMELER,
FRANZ STROBEL,
JAKOB BUEHLER,
AUGUST KUECHERER,
WILLIAM KUECHERER,
JOHN BEITER,
LEVI BEITER,
MATHIAS DISCHINGER,
LEO. KERN,
CHARLES KAPPEL.

Notice is hereby given that a petition praying for the incorporation of the Village of Zoar, and adjacent territory, as a village, has been presented to the Commissioners of Tuscarawas county, Ohio, and that the same will be for hearing on Wednesday, May 7th, 1884.

SIMON BEITER, *Agent.*

Mar. 13 W. 4.

THE STATE OF OHIO,
TUSCARAWAS COUNTY, } ss:

I, Addison M. Marsh, being duly sworn say that the notice hereunto attached was published in the *Tuscarawas Advocate,* on the 13th day of March, A. D. 1884, and continued therein four consecutive weeks, during all of which time said newspaper was printed and in general circulation in said county.

ADDISON M. MARSH, *Publisher.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of June, 1884.

P. S. OLMSTEAD, *J. P.*

Printer's fees, $2.50.

Commissioners Journal, Tuscarawas county, Ohio, Wednesday, March 5th, 1884. In the matter of the Incorporation of the Village of Zoar, the Petition of Jacob Ackerman, Sr., and sixty other citizens of said village having this day been, by their agent, Simon Beiter, filed with the Board of Commissioners for Tuscarawas county, Ohio, praying for the incorporation of said village, under the name and style of the Incorporated Village of Zoar, together with an accurate plat of the territory sought to be incorporated, and it appearing to said Board that the matter of said petition was proper to be set out therein, thereupon on said day it being at a regular session, said Commissioners caused said petition, together with the attending plat to be filed in the office of the County

Auditor, and ordered that the time and place of hearing on said petition, should be Wednesday, May 7th, 1884, at 10 o'clock A. M., and at the Auditor's office of said county, in New Philadelphia, Ohio, Simon Beiter, agent, was then and there notified of said time and place of hearing, Wednesday, May 7th, 1884. In the matter of the petition of Jacob Ackerman, Sr., and sixty others, for the incorporation of the village of Zoar, for hearing on this day, the same is postponed until Tuesday, June 3d, 1884, and leave granted to petitioners to amend petition. Tuesday, June 3d, 1884. In the matter of the incorporation of the Village of Zoar, hearing on which application was adjourned to, this day came Simon Beiter, agent for said village and on leave hereintofore granted, filed amended petition, Map and Plat of Territory described therein. This matter came on for hearing in said amended petition, whereupon the Board find that said petition contains all the matter required, that its statements are true, that the name proposed is appropriate, that the limits of the proposed incorporation are accurately described and are not unreasonably large or small, that the plat is an accurate Plat of the Territory sought to be incorporated, that the persons, whose names are subscribed to the petition are electors residing on the Territory, that notice has been given as required of the hearing on this application, and that there is the requisite population for the proposed incorporation. Therefore it is ordered by the Board of Commissioners for Tuscarawas county, Ohio, that the prayer of the petitioners be granted and that the village of Zoar be and hereby is established an Incorporated Village under the name and style of the "Incorporated Village of Zoar."

H. B. Heffer,
Sam'l Rufer,
Wm. E. Lash,
Commissioners of Tuscarawas County, Ohio.

Filed with the Secretary of State, August 25, 1884.

Deed of the Property by the Trustees to the Members on the Separation of the Society.

This deed, the result of the division of the realty belonging to the Society, is an unique document. The entire distribution of the property into the respective shares is embraced in one deed by the trustees of the Society to the grantees—the recipient members of the dissolving Society. By the permission of the County Surveyor, Mr. George E. Hayward, the plat showing the respective allotments, both in the village and the farm land to each member, is published and accompanies this volume. The village cemetery, church and school properties were reserved public possessions for the village.—E. O. R.

Deed of the Distributed Realty.

The Society of Separatists of Zoar
to
Carl Ehlers, et. al.

Know all men by these presents that whereas we, Carl Ehlers, Louisa M. Ehlers, Charles J. Breymaier, Otelle Bimeler, Peter Bimeler, Mary Bimeler, Ernestine Breil, Mary Breil, Charles Breil, Clemens Breil, Flora Burkhart, Christian Ruof, Jr., Matilda Ruof, Conrad Breymaier, Charlotte Breymaier, Jacob Breymaier, Caroline Breymaier, Caroline Kuemmerle, Levi Beuter, Caroline Beuter, Jonathan Beuter, Pauline Beuter, Gottlieb Seitz, Anna Seitz, Pauline Kuecherer, Albert Kuecherer, Selma Ruof, Jacob Kuemerle, Johana Kuemerle, Rosina Roth, Barbara Wetter, Jacob Buehler, Joseph Buehler, Thersie Buehler, Levi Bimeler, Caroline Bimeler, Anton Burkhart, Salome Burkhart, Bertha Kuecherer, Rudolph Ruckstuhl, Sarah Ruckstuhl, Simon Beuter, Jacob Burkhart, Emilie Burkhart, Frank Ackerman, Louisa Ackerman, Jacob Ricker, Lydia Ricker, Joseph Beuter, Caroline Beuter, Bernhart Beiter, Mary Beiter, Albert Beuter, Alma Beuter, John Beiter, Elizabeth Beuter, Sebastian Burkhart, Regina Burkhart, Leo Kern, Sabina Kern, Geo. Ackerman, Wilhelmine Ackerman, David Beuter, Amanda Beuter, Elizabeth Ricker, Anna Maria Peterman, Joseph Bimeler, Amelia Bimeler, Mathias Dischinger, Jacobine Dischinger, Jacob Dischinger William Kappel, Wilhelmina Kappel, Simon Beuter, Jr., Rosena Beuter, Christian Hoyh, Mary Hoyh, Joseph Breymaier, Bertha Breymaier, Jacob Ackerman, Mary Ackerman, Josephine Ackerman, Elizabeth Mock, Christian Ruof, Mary Ruof, Benjamin Beuter, Salome Beuter, Charles Kappel, Wilhelmine Kappel, Jacob J. Sturm, Ellen S. Sturm, John Ruof, Caroline Ruof, John Groetzinger, Lea Groetzinger, Regina Breymaier, Elizabeth Fritz, John Ackerman, Charles Zimmerman, John Sturm, August Kuecherer, Barbara Kuecherer, C. F. Sylvan, Lydia Sylvan, John Bimeler, Louisa Bimeler, Mary Sylvan, Rosina Harr, Elia Rieker, Louisa Zimmerman, Louis Zimmerman, Antoniette Zimmerman, Julius Notter, Rebecca Notter, Andreas Gauterbein, Louisa Gauterbein, Christiana Strobel, John Kuecherer, Rosena Kuecherer, Lawrence Kuecherer, Emelia Burkhart, Obed Ruof, Eliza Beiter, Emma Heid, Lillian Ruof, Josephine Ruof, Hattie Ackerman, Edwin Breil, William Kuemerle, John Buehler, John Ricker, Orthoford Kappel and August Kuecherer, Jr., members of the second class of the Society of Separatists of Zoar, all of the County of Tuscarawas and State of Ohio, and the only living members of said second class, on the 10th day of March, A. D. 1898, together with Christian Ackerman and Frederick Breil, both of whom have since died, entered into a written contract of that date as between ourselves, the said Christian Ackerman and Frederick Breil and the Society of Separatists of Zoar, a corporation,

provided among other things for the partition and division among us and the said Christian Ackerman and Frederick Breil of all the real estate of said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, with the exception of certain reservations specifically set forth in said written contract, the legal title to all of said real estate was then and still is in the name of the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, and held by it in trust for us and said two deceased members and their respective heirs, and which said written contract is of record in the minute book of the said Society on page 30 to 48 both inclusive, which book is in the office of said Society in the village of Zoar in said county, and in the custody of Louis Zimmerman, as Treasurer of said Society, reference to which record is hereby made.

And whereas by the terms and provisions of said written contract, We, together with the two deceased members, selected and appointed Samuel Foltz, Henry S. Fisher and William Becker Commissioners to make said partition and division and to designate in their report and statement by numbers and on a plat to be prepared by George E. Hayward, the surveyer selected by us and said two deceased members, the parts and portions of said real estate which each of us is to receive as our respective shares and allotments and the respective shares and allotments of each of said two deceased members.

And whereas the said commissioners have fully performed their duties required of them by the terms of said written agreement and have made their statement and report in writing and had said plat prepared as required by the terms of said contract, and which statement and report is in the words and figures following and is the original statement and report, to-wit:

We, the duly selected and authorized Commissioners for the purpose of sub-dividing, allotting and apportioning the lands (and appurtenances thereto belonging) of the Society of Separatists of Zoar, Ohio, designated to us for that purpose, do hereby make the following report of our findings and action in said division and allotment and declare that to the best of our ability and judgment we have made an equitable, just and impartial partition and allotment of the real estate of said Society submitted to us for that purpose.

In making such division it has been with the idea, first to make a complete appraisement and invoice of all said real estate without reference to persons or location.

The appraisement being conducted by personal visits to all tracts in question, the boundaries and limits being duly designated by us and afterward surveyed, computed and compiled by the surveyor.

After arriving at the result and sum total the partition was conducted with a view to giving so far as practicable, village property, agricultural lands and timber lands to each of the parties in interest severally or jointly when so requested.

Authorized Report of Division Commissioners.

We met and organized May 2, 1898, and the work of appraisement began May 12, 1898. Geo. E. Hayward acted as our clerk throughout the work.

Following the terms of the signed contract we do hereby certify that we, in conjunction with the duly authorized and appointed surveyor, Geo. E. Hayward, have gone over the land allotted and have found it to be in accordance with our wishes, and we approve of the returns of said surveyor as shown by monuments and the plat of the land, and we have personally inspected this report and find that it shows the result of our action and that the work of the Clerk is hereby approved.

(Following this are the divisions and allotments, by metes and bounds, which are omitted here as being not pertinent to the purpose of this document.—E. O. R.)

SAM'L FOLTZ,
WM. BECKER,
HENRY S. FISHER.
Division Commissioners.

Signed Sept. 1, 1898, at Zoar, Ohio.

GEO. E. HAYWARD, *Clerk.*

And whereas by the terms and provisions of said written contract we and each of us, and each of said deceased members, covenanted and agreed one with the other and each one with all the others, that we and the said Christian Ackerman and Frederick Breil would accept the allotments and parcels of said real estate which should be set apart to us respectively by the said commissioners as our respective shares of the whole from which said allotments should be made, and that each of us would then by a proper deed of conveyance executed and delivered, release all our respective rights, title and interest and estate to each of the others of us in and to the respective allotments and parcels set apart to us respectively and would do and perform all things necessary on our respective parts to make good title to the respective owners of said allotments and parcels. Now, therefore, we and each of us in consideration of said written contract and for the purpose of fully carrying out its provisions in regard to said real estate on our respective parts as well as in consideration of the sum of one dollar to each of us in hand paid by each of the others of us, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, do hereby demise, release and forever quit claim to each other and to their respective heirs and assigns forever, all our right, title and interest and estate, legal and equitable, in and to the several parcels and allotments designated by numbers to each of us respectively in the said statement and report of the said Commissioners, and designated by the same numbers and by our respective names on the parcels allotted to us respectively upon the said plat of said allotment of said lands, a copy of

which plat is hereto attached and made a part and parecl of this deed of conveyance, and said original plat will be found on the plat records of said Tuscarawas County, each of us excepting and reserving our respective right, title, interest and estate in and to the parcels and allotments so designated in said statement and report and on said plat to each of us.

In witness whereof we and each of us have subscribed our names this 20th day of September, A. D. 1898.

(Signatures following next omitted).

(Certificate of Acknowledgment follows here).

And whereas the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Ohio, and named in the foregoing deed of conveyance of the members of the second class of the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, by John Bimeler, Joseph Breymaier and Christian Ruof, its duly elected and qualified Trustees, being duly authorized and empowered thereto by a resolution entered in the minute book and journal of the said Society on the 10th day of March, A. D. 1898, for and on behalf of the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, executed the written contract mentioned in said foregoing deed of conveyance, reference to which is hereby made, whereby they covenanted and agreed with all the members of the second class of the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, named in the foregoing deed of conveyance, that they would when the division and allotments provided for in said written contract should have been made and accepted by said members, by proper deed or deeds convey the legal title to each of said parcels and allotments to the respective parties to whom the same should be awarded by the commissioners named in said written agreement.

And whereas the said Commissioners have made their statement and report in writing and have in said written report designated by consecutive numbers the parts, parcels and allotments awarded by them to the members of the second class respectively, who are now living, and to the respective heirs of Christian Ackerman and Frederick Breil, two of said members of the second class who have died intestate, leaving heirs since they signed said written contract and have caused to be prepared by George E. Hayward, the surveyor selected and appointed by the said members of the second class, by the terms of said written contract a plat of said division and allotment on which is designated by the same numbers and the respective names of the said several members of the second class the parts and portions of said real estate awarded to each of said living members and to the heirs of the said two deceased members, and showing by said numbers and names the parts and portions awarded to some of said members jointly and the others thereof severally, which written report and statement of said commissioners is incorporated into and is a part of the said foregoing deed of said members and is hereby made a part of this deed of conveyance, and a copy of said plat is attached

to and made a part of said foregoing deed and is hereby made part and parcel of this deed of conveyance, and the second of which plat will be found in plat records of said Tuscarawas County, and whereas the said living members and each of them have accepted their respective portions and allotments as designated in the said commissioners report and on said plat as aforesaid, and have executed and delivered their foregoing deed of release as between themselves and have fully complied with the terms of said written contract on their part to be performed in respect to the division of said real estate.

Now, therefore, in consideration of the foregoing premises and for the purpose of carrying into effect the terms and provisions of the aforesaid written contract, as well as in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars to it in hand paid and the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, has bargained and sold and does hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said ..... (Names omitted here) and their heirs and assigns forever the several parts and parcels and allotments of said real estate set apart to them respectively by the commissioners and designated and described by them in their said report, and designated and described by their numbers and names on said copy of said plat as aforesaid and on their respective parts, parcels and allotments as aforesaid, together with all the appurtenances, rights, privileges and easements thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining.

To have and to hold the same to said living members respectively and and to their respective heirs and assigns forever, either jointly or severally, as they appear in the said report of said Commissioners and on said copy of said plat.

In Testimony Whereof the said grantor, the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, by John Bimeler, Joseph Breymaier and Christian Ruof, its Trustees, has caused its signature to be hereunto subscribed and its corporate seal to be hereto affixed this 20th day of September, A. D. 1898.

Executed and delivered in our presence.
Mrs. Kate Hayward,
James G. Patrick.

The Society of Separatists of Zoar,
[Seal]
By John Bimeler,
Joseph Breymaier,
Christian Ruof,
Trustees.

The State of Ohio,
Tuscarawas County, } ss:

Before me a Notary Public in and for said County personally appeared the above named John Bimeler, Joseph Breymaier and Christian Ruof, the Trustees of the above named The Society of Separatists of Zoar, and acknowledged the signing and sealing with the corporate seal of the

said The Society of Separatists of Zoar, of the foregoing conveyance to be their voluntary official act and deed as the Trustees of said corporation and the voluntary corporate act and deed of the said The Society of Separatists of Zoar.

In Testimony Whereof I hereunto subscribe my official signature and affix my official seal this 20th day of September, A. D. 1898.

(Stamps, $182.00, cancelled.)

JAMES G. PATRICK,
Notary Public.

[Seal]

Received October 10, 1898 at 10 A. M.
Recorded October 13, 1898.

M. SCHNEIDER, *Recorder.*

Truly yours
David Tod

HON. DAVID TOD.

BIOGRAPHY AND PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

BY GEORGE B. WRIGHT.

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time."

"Footprints, that perhaps another
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother
Seeing, shall take heart again."

— *Longfellow.*

PART I.

BIOGRAPHY OF DAVID TOD.

David Tod, second of the Civil War Governors of Ohio, was born at Youngstown, Trumbull (now Mahoning) County, Ohio, on the 22nd of February, A. D. 1805.

His father, the Honorable George Tod, settled in Ohio in 1800, having left his native state, Connecticut, with many others of the early pioneers who settled the Western Reserve. Ohio was then a territory, and the same year of his advent George Tod was called on by Governor St. Clair to act as Secretary in 1802. The same year, when Ohio was admitted into the Union as a state, Mr. Tod was elected as one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, and held that office seven years in succession.

He was after that re-elected to the same position, but on the breaking out of the war of 1812 with Great Britain he resigned his seat on the bench and tendered his services to the Government, and was commissioned Major, and afterwards promoted to the Colonelcy of the Twelfth Regiment.

During this struggle he won laurels for his coolness, courage and heroism, especially at Sackett's Harbor and Fort Meigs.

At the close of the war he resigned his commission and returned to Trumbull County. Soon after this he was elected

Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, having for his district the whole northern part of the state.

He was a very generous, liberal-minded man, and in the old pioneer times when small salaries were paid to all officials, with a large family to maintain, he did not accumulate any surplus, but fell behind and was compelled to mortgage his Brier Hill farm. But he left to his children a "good name, which is better than riches."

His wife, Sallie Isaac, the mother of David Tod, was a very beautiful woman, a most excellent wife and mother, worshipped by her children and beloved by every one who knew her. She was the sister of Mrs. Ingersoll, the wife of Governor Ingersoll, of Connecticut. To his mother, as well as his father, David Tod owed a large share of his native talent and goodness.

Judge Tod remained on the Common Pleas bench for fourteen years, retiring in 1829 at the age of fifty-five. For the remainder of his life he pursued his profession of law, attended to the management of his Brier Hill farm, near Youngstown, and cared for his family. He died in 1841 at the age of sixty-seven, esteemed and revered by every one.

David Tod, reared as a farmer boy at the old Brier Hill farm, and being among the youngest of his father's children, had, with his father's limited means at that early period in Ohio, none of the educational advantages or opportunities enjoyed by the youth of the present day. His only early education was obtained at the day schools, which were held for only a short portion of the year. He received his further education at the old Burton Academy in Geauga County, Ohio. He paid for his school expenses after he became of age. He had great native talent, and most excellent judgment of men and things material, and his active life and experience afforded him the greater part of his education, and he might fairly be said to have been self-educated. Although a self-made man, he was well fitted to fill any place or position to which he might be called.

He studied law in the office of Colonel Powell Stone, at Warren, Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in 1827, at the age

of twenty-two. He was then in debt for his tuition, and other expenses about one thousand dollars. He commenced practice with the Hon. Mathew Burchard. The bar of Trumbull County was attended in those days by such able and distinguished practitioners as the Hons. Elisha Whittlesey, Ebon Martin, Joshua R. Giddings, Rufus T. Spaulding, Calvin Pease, Powell Stone, Mathew Burchard, John Crowell, Andrew Loomis, Thomas D. Webb, and later Benjamin F. Mills, Reuben Hitchcock and others. It was regarded as one of the ablest and most distinguished bars in Ohio.

David Tod soon became eminent as a jury lawyer, and was very popular, being regarded as one of the strongest in the profession. He had a deep-toned, musical voice. He was magnanimous and genial, of commanding appearance, great sociability, and was always listened to with delight, and was the life and charm of society.

His practice soon became large and extended, and enabled him not only to pay off the debts he had incurred, but also to repurchase the old Brier Hill farm, which had been mortgaged and sold. This he cherished as his sacred home until the day of his death, and he kept it as a home for his father and mother while they lived, replacing the old log cabin thereon with a good, commodious frame house.

On June 4, 1832, at the age of twenty-seven, he married Maria Smith, daughter of Justice Smith, of Warren, Ohio, one of the early settlers there, who built the first grist and saw mill in that section of the state. There was then no grist mill within sixty miles of Warren.

From this marriage seven children were born, four boys and three girls — Charlotte, John, Henry, George, William, Grace and Sallie. The oldest daughter, Charlotte, married General August V. Kautz, of the regular army in 1866. She died in 1868 and her husband, the General, fifteen or eighteen years later.

John Tod, the oldest son, died suddenly at Columbus, Ohio, on the 4th of December, 1896, while attending a meeting of the State House Commission, of which he was a member. David Tod's widow and five children are still living, residing at

Youngstown, Ohio. The old Brier Hill farm and homestead still remains, kept and cared for as in the life of its owner.

In the days of Andrew Jackson, David Tod became his ardent admirer, and supported him for the Presidency, and attached himself to the Democratic party, although his father was a devoted Whig.

He continued with the Democratic party until its rupture at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, at the Democratic National Convention, where he figured as First Vice-President, and subsequently as President at the meeting of the delegates at Baltimore, Maryland. These two conventions, no doubt, had a strong influence in enlisting him in the cause of the Union.

He was appointed postmaster at Warren, Ohio, under Jackson's or Van Buren's administration, and continued in that position until 1838, when he was elected, in the strong Whig County of Trumbull, over his opponent, Hon. John Crowell, as Senator to the Ohio Legislature, where he served two years with marked ability.

He continued to practice law until about 1844, when he moved to his Brier Hill farm, the old home, to which he was so much attached. He then started the project of developing the coal in that section, and after long and persistent effort introducing it into Cleveland, and other lake markets by way of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Canal. He was one of the principal agents in carrying forward the scheme of constructing the Canal. He was a director of the company for a long time, and one of the pioneers in coal shipments from the Brier Hill and Girard Mines. In this way he laid the foundation for his future success in amassing wealth, and gave the impetus to the great development of the coal and iron trade, and other business of the Mahoning Valley. He was also one of the chief and efficient actors and managers in promoting the construction of the Cleveland and Mahoning Valley Railroad, of which company Jacob Perkins was the first President, and David Tod one of the Directors, and after the decease of Mr. Perkins he was made the President, and so continued until his death.

These enterprises brought Mr. Tod in close touch with the laboring classes, and he became their friend and helper, many of whom, through his aid and encouragement, became prosperous, and acquired remunerative positions, and thus many homes were made comfortable and happy. The railroad from Cleveland to Youngstown was opened in 1856, and Mr. Tod, not many years afterwards, when the road passed into the control of the Atlantic & Great Western Railway Company, had the satisfaction of seeing the company relieved of a large and embarrassing load of floating debt, which imperiled his entire fortune. This was accomplished by his personal efforts and wise management, and the value of the stock of the company was brought up from thirty per cent. below, to above par. The inhabitants of the Mahoning Valley owe to David Tod, more than to any other man, the great wealth of that prosperous mining and iron manufacturing region.

To his talents, geniality and goodness of heart may be attributed his popularity as a speaker, and they will account for his nomination by the Democratic party for Governor in 1844, and in the then strong Whig state he was defeated by his opponent, Mordecai Bartley, by only about twelve hundred votes.

In the winter or early spring of 1847, Mr. Tod was appointed by President Polk, Minister to Brazil to succeed Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, who was recalled at the request of Brazil in consequence of his arbitrary course which threatened to involve our country in war with that empire. With the feeling existing in that government, the difficulty created by Wise, and the total lack of experience on the part of Mr. Tod in the matter of diplomacy and court etiquette, made it a very delicate and trying position. Nevertheless, he accepted the appointment and embarked for Rio in June, 1847, with his wife and some of his younger children, and remained there about four and a half years, returning home in December, 1851.

His native talent and large endowment of common sense, with his experience and knowledge of men, enabled him to fulfill his mission to the satisfaction of our government and the delight of his friends at home. He succeeded while there, not only in healing all troubles and difficulties, but in concluding

a negotiation by which he obtained about $300,000 from that government on claims which had been, for more than thirty years, the subject of international dispute. He was largely instrumental in inducing the government to break up the infamous slave trade. He placed the government of Brazil on a solid and firm footing of friendship with the United States. He so far secured the good will and esteem of the Emperor of Brazil as to receive letters addressed to this government of the highest commendation.

He often lent his kind aid and purse to our countrymen and sailors residing in Rio, or passing through, and on his leaving they presented him with a valuable silver memorial of their great esteem and friendship.

His relations, whether with that empire or with the representatives of other governments there, as well as his efforts in behalf of his countrymen, were an entire success. And it may safely be said that no representative from this government to a foreign court ever surpassed Mr. Tod in diplomatic influence, tact and favor.

On his return home his friends and neighbors, without distinction of party, gave him a most cordial ovation, and a greeting and welcome of which any one might be proud. Not the least gratifying was the heartfelt manner in which all his employees met and welcomed him in a body. Having been attached so long to the fortunes of the Democratic party; being the idol of his Democratic friends in his section of the state; having received positions of honor and trust at their hands, and reluctant to change to any new organization, or position, politically, he adhered to that old party until 1860 in spite of all the assaults upon it, and upon its pro-slavery wing at the South, made by the growing Republican party.

He was a delegate to the Charleston convention in 1860; was the First Vice-President while Caleb Cushing was President. He was strongly in favor of the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas, and against yielding to the pro-slavery demands of the South, and bid defiance to their threat of seceding from the Union if their demands were not complied with; and when they adjourned to Baltimore and the southern delegation left

the convention, and Caleb Cushing with them, he took the chair and the nomination of Douglas was made by the remaining delegates of the party. He gave his support to Douglas with all his force and voice during that campaign.

The withdrawal of the southern delegates, the nomination by them of Breckenridge, the defeat of Douglas and the threat of secession, made him resolve to stand firmly by the government.

As soon as the south began to show war, and fired on Ft. Sumter, David Tod immediately bent his energies to sustain the Government, and counseled union of all patriots. On the first call for troops he telegraphed President Lincoln, advising a call of three hundred thousand volunteers instead of seventy-five thousand, and gave his most earnest support to Mr. Lincoln. He immediately subscribed one thousand dollars to the Township War Fund, and raised and equipped at his own expense the first company of volunteers raised in Youngstown. Thenceforward, until the war ended, he sustained the administration of Lincoln with all his power and influence.

The country being thus in deadly peril, and its unity in danger, the patriots of Ohio, including all Republicans, and many war Democrats, moved without regard to party to unite for the support of the Union, nominated David Tod for Governor, and elected him in October, 1861, by over eighty-five thousand majority. Clement L. Vallandigham, and men of his spirit, who were in sympathy with the South, and those who feared that the Democratic party might be broken up, still stood aloof, and did not support this patriotic nomination, and in the end became virtual supporters of the South and a great embarrassment to the Government.

During 1862 and 1863, two of the stormiest years of the war, when matters were still somewhat in chaos, and proper system and organization had not been effected, when supplies of men, means, surgeons and nurses were lacking; when large numbers of troops were being called for; when distress and discouragement prevailed, and Ohio was threatened with invasion by Kirby Smith, a Confederate General; then it was that David Tod, with his large heart, his good sense, unbounded pa-

triotism and energy, proved to be the right man in the right place. He performed an enormous amount of labor, and gave most efficient aid to the country in his very responsible position.

The care of the soldiers, the sick, wounded and afflicted, their wives, dependents and friends, have all good cause to remember Governor Tod. His excellent knowledge and judgment of men and great care in the appointment of officers, gave excellent commanders to the troops of Ohio, with very few exceptions, and he made as few mistakes in this respect as was possible in the great multiplicity of appointments and promotions to be made.

He made comparatively few requests of Secretary of War Stanton, or President Lincoln, and those he did make were maturely considered, and were always found important, and therefore promptly granted.

On his retirement from the Executive Office, the Legislature of Ohio, then in session, passed and published in the volume of Ohio Laws for that year, the following most beautiful and appropriate joint resolution and vote of thanks:

WHEREAS, The executive term of Governor Tod has been a period of unexampled trial to the state and nation, involving the existence of the government, and demanding devoted loyalty and extraordinary executive ability; and

WHEREAS, In our opinion these demands have been met by him in a manner eliciting the approbation of all loyal men,

Therefore, the general assembly of the State of Ohio, in the name and behalf of the people of Ohio, feel constrained to award to Governor David Tod, upon his retirement from office, this public testimony of our approbation and esteem.

Resolved, That the thanks of the general assembly of the state of Ohio are hereby tendered to him for the able, self-sacrificing and devoted manner in which he has discharged all the duties of chief magistrate of the state; for his devotion in ministering to the sick and wounded soldiers; for his kindness, courtesy and assistance to the friends and families of the soldiers in their anxious inquiries for those exposed in camp, upon the battle-fields and in hospitals; for his pecuniary sacrifices for the soldiers' encouragement and comfort; for his patriotic addresses made to the regiments, from time to time, when going into service; for his well-arranged system of half-fare tickets, by which the relatives of the soldiers were enabled to visit the hospitals and battle-

fields to convey relief, or bring to their last resting place amid the homes of the loyal north, the remains of those who have given their lives for their country's protection; for the enduring memorials to the dead of the rank and file in the cemeteries of Spring Grove and Gettysburg; for the preservation of peace and order of the state; for the speedy suppression of disloyalty and resistance to laws; for untiring industry in the business of the state; for deep-toned loyalty; for the full and faithful discharge of the trust which two years ago was entrusted to him by a loyal people; for all this he takes with him into his retirement our thanks, our approval, and our desire for his future welfare and happiness. And when the terrible drama of this infamous rebellion shall have closed, his official discharge of duty will remain a proud monument to his memory, and a rich legacy to his children."

JAMES R. HUBBELL,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CHARLES ANDERSON,
President of the Senate.

Governor Tod, much worn with the great labor he had performed, gladly sought the Brier Hill farm to devote some care to his personal affairs needing his attention.

During his relations with President Lincoln, although somewhat prejudiced at first, he became his warm friend and admirer. He heartily accepted the proclamation to abolish slavery as an appropriate means of crushing the rebellion.

On the retirement of Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, President Lincoln, wholly without solicitation of Governor Tod or any intimation of it beforehand, tendered him by telegraph that Cabinet position. But being much worn and exhausted in his very arduous labor as Executive of Ohio, needing rest at his age, and desirous of looking to his private affairs, he promptly declined with suitable thanks the honorable position so generously tendered him.

Governor Tod thenceforward devoted his time, care and attention to his interesting family of wife and seven children; to the coal and iron works, and the Cleveland and Mahoning Valley Railroad, of which company he remained President until his decease, on November 13, 1868, at the age of sixty-three years, eight months and twenty-three days. In November, 1868, he was elected by the Republicans one of the presidential electors at large. At the meeting of the Electoral Col-

lege held at Columbus on December 1st, 1868, seventeen days after his death, the following gentlemen were appointed to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the College in regard to his death: Stanley Matthews, E. F. Schneider and F. Kinsman. The Committee reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, David Tod, formerly governor of Ohio, who departed this life on the 13th of November, 1868, had been chosen a member of the Electoral College for the state, at large; and

WHEREAS, It is peculiarly appropriate that we give expression to our feelings in regard to his decease, be it therefore

Resolved, That we deeply deplore the loss that the State and Nation have sustained in the death of this distinguished citizen; that his public career and services, especially his patriotic course at the outbreak of the rebellion, and his distinguished and invaluable labor as Executive of Ohio during one of the most critical periods of the war, have earned for him the lasting gratitude of the people, and made his name precious to every lover of his country.

Resolved, That while we cherish with pride the public reputation of the deceased, we remember also his exalted character and sterling worth as a man; his noble and generous qualities as a friend; his genial manners, which adorned alike the Executive Chamber and the social circle and which combined to win for him the universal respect and affection with which his memory will always be associated.

Resolved, That Hon. Samuel Galloway, one of the members of this body, be requested to deliver this evening before the College and the public, an eulogy upon the life and character of the deceased.

Resolved, That the following named gentlemen be requested to officiate at the meeting for that purpose: As President, Governor R. B. Hayes; as Vice-Presidents, Hon. James L. Bates and General George B. Wright; as Chaplain, Rev. A. G. Byers; as Secretaries. Morton E. Brazee and W. R. Thrall.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions and a copy of the proceedings of the meeting, this evening, be furnished to the family of the deceased.

The meeting in the evening was largely attended, Mr. Galloway delivering a most eloquent eulogy on the life and character of Mr. Tod; a most truthful and fitting tribute, full of evidence of Mr. Galloway's intimate acquaintance and sincere regard for his friend and neighbor. The eulogy was delivered at the request of the Electors, who ordered it printed in pamph-

let form, and thousands of copies of the proceedings and eulogy were distributed through the state and country.

Such was the respect for him and feeling entertained toward him, that his funeral was attended by a number estimated at twenty thousand people.

The people of the Mahoning Valley of all classes have long mourned his loss as their great friend, adviser and benefactor.

Part II.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DAVID TOD.

My first acquaintance with David Tod was a few days after his election as Governor of Ohio, in 1861. I was then Quartermaster General of Ohio, in the midst of active duties equipping and sending to the field volunteers for the Federal Army who were being called by the President to suppress the rebellion. He came into the office with Governor Dennison, who introduced him to me as his successor. I was struck with his handsome, smooth-shaven face, and genial, cordial manner. He was about five feet, ten inches in height, stoutly built, and weighed about one hundred and ninety pounds; a fine shaped head, with a prominent forehead; bright, dark-brown eyes, with dark hair slightly tinged with gray.

I was not only favorably impressed with his appearance and genial manner, but surprised at his request that I become a member of his staff and continue in my present position. I had known of him as a prominent Democratic politician, while I had always been a Whig and a Republican, and presumed, of course, that he would select his staff from his own party friends.

I had known of Mr. Tod's election to the Legislature as State Senator from Trumbull county in 1839. I was familiar with his campaign for governor in 1844 on the Democratic ticket, and had taken part against him, and in favor of his Whig opponent, Mordecai Bartley. That was a very vigorous campaign on both sides in which great processions with flags and emblems, song singing, and displays of all kinds were in vogue. The custom of song singing in political campaigns had

been introduced four years before when General Harrison and Martin Van Buren were opposing candidates for the presidency in 1840. John Greiner, of Columbus, was the Whig poet, and composed many songs satirizing the candidates from the President to the candidate for the humblest position. One verse of a popular Whig song of 1840 will be remembered by those now living who were voters at that time:

"Oh what has caused this great commotion
Motion, motion — our country through?
It is the ball a-rolling on
For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too,
And with them we'll beat little Van,
Van, Van is a used up man
And with them we'll beat little Van."

The songs of 1844 were more prolific, and those of John Greiner were very popular. The following will serve as examples:

"At Lindenwold the fox was holed,
And the coons all laughed
When they heard it told
Ha, ha, ha what a nominee
Is James K. Polk of Tennessee."

These are the first of a number of verses of the popular songs.

"Soon after the great nomination
Was held at Columbus so odd,
There was quite a jollification
At the residence of Governor Tod."

"His mother, good, pious old lady,
Her spectacles threw on the sod;
Good gracious! Who would have thought, Davy
Would ever be Governor Tod?"

Mr. Tod was a hard money man, and in one of his stump speeches said he would "prefer pot metal money to shin-plasters." This saying gave him the name of "Pot Metal Tod." I remember in one of the processions of that year, a large wagon, drawn by eight horses, was laden with a cupola in full blast

molding "Tod Dollars," which were about two and one-half inches in diameter and half an inch thick; on one side were the words "Tod Dollar." They were thrown into the street as fast as molded, and quickly gathered up by the crowd. I saw one of these dollars in Mr. Tod's office at Brier Hill as late as 1866, where it was used as a paper weight. Notwithstanding the state was largely Whig at that time, Mr. Tod was beaten by his Whig opponent, Mordecai Bartley, by less than twelve hundred votes.

As minister to Brazil from 1847 to 1851, he won great credit as a diplomat. His energy and success in developing the coal and other interests in the Mahoning Valley; his career as First Vice-President at the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, South Carolina, and subsequently at Baltimore in 1860, are all referred to in the preceding biography and need not be repeated here.

It was at this interesting and prosperous period that the civil war broke out and fired the hearts of every lover of the Union at the North. William Dennison was then Governor of the State, and with patriotic zeal was doing all in his power under the greatest difficulties, to organize and place the State on a war footing to aid the Federal government in sustaining the Union. As the time drew near for the nomination of a Republican candidate for Governor in 1861, while many friends of Governor Dennison desired and advocated his re-nomination, many eyes were turned with interest toward David Tod — a lifelong Democrat, but now recognized as a staunch Union man — as a suitable candidate for nomination. His previous record as a business man and high character for integrity and honor made him a popular candidate, and in October, 1861, he was elected as the Republican candidate by over eighty-five thousand majority. He had already shown his zeal in the cause of the Union by telegraphing the President, when the first call for volunteers was made, advising the call of three hundred thousand instead of seventy-five thousand. He had raised and equipped, at his own expense, the first company of volunteers in Youngstown, and subscribed one thousand dollars to the

war fund of his own township. He thus entered upon his administration as Governor in January, 1862, with a mind and heart well fitted for the work.

In his inaugural address before the Senate and House of Representatives on the 13th of January, 1862, he said, among other things: "On the great and absorbing question of the day — the war for the maintenance of our National existence — I am indebted to the friends of the Union for their generous selection, from the well-known fact that *I was willing to surrender everything but honor to quell the unholy rebellion.* The more I reflect upon this important matter the more thoroughly am I convinced that the future welfare of ourselves, our children and our children's children depends upon preserving *at all hazards* the integrity of our National Union."

It was during the civil war that I learned to know and esteem Mr. Tod. For two years we were neighbors and were in daily association, going to and from our homes to the State House. We visited Washington and the hospitals at Cincinnati and Camp Dennison together, and when in the city, we visited Camp Chase nearly every week. Regiments were being organized there and thousands of Rebel prisoners were held. From the first call for volunteers to the end of his term he was ready with his counsel and purse in every way to aid the Administration in maintaining the Government.

He was the intimate friend, co-worker and adviser of President Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton, and in daily communication with them. Mr. Lincoln once said of him, "Governor Tod has aided me more and troubled me less than any other Governor." This was doubtless for the reason that the Governor never asked for anything that was not, in his judgment, necessary and of vital importance to the welfare of the Ohio troops. By order of the Governor, I went to Washington and spent a week with Secretary Stanton, asking for improved arms, equipments and other supplies for the Ohio soldiers. Mr. Stanton said to me, "If you will be patient with us, the Ohio soldiers shall have the best arms and equipments the Government can procure." Such was the feeling of the Pres-

Mrs. Tod's Residence, Youngstown, O.

ident and Secretary Stanton — who was an Ohio man — towards Governor Tod and the Ohio soldiers.

As soon as he entered upon his duties as Governor, he examined carefully the different departments of the State Government and wherever he found it necessary to introduce reforms, adopted careful business methods. He exhibited rare ability for the duties imposed upon him and never sought to avoid responsibility. He ignored partisan politics and said to every one applying to him for civil or military appointments, "This is no political warfare, but a hand-to-hand struggle for the life of the Nation, and it is the duty of every citizen of Ohio to devote his best energies for that object." On this patriotic idea he strove to administer the duties of his office. Of the thousands of appointments which he was called upon to make, he adopted, as far as possible, the Jeffersonian rule of "honesty, capability and faithfulness to the constitution." He was an excellent judge of men and possessed the rare combination of talent, tact and human sympathy, seldom erring in his selection of men to fill responsible positions. To aid him in this and other important duties, he advised and secured the appointment of a military board of citizens in most of the congressional districts of the State, chosen by the loyal citizens themselves. With these committees he was constantly in communication, thus learning the character of the men seeking service, also the general feeling throughout the State towards the administration at Washington and the conduct of the war. He was anxious to enlist his Democratic friends in the cause of the Union.

He soon learned, however, that many of his old political friends and associates were in sympathy with the South and would not be enlisted actively in support of the war. He became more and more convinced of this as time went on, but this only bound him closer to Mr. Lincoln and the administration and carried him farther and farther away from his old Democratic allies until he became notorious as a hater of copperheads, as those persons were called who opposed the war and its prosecution. He was accused of being arbitrary and despotic, but he was always kind and conciliatory and strove in all

cases to be just, even to those whom he knew were opposed to the administration, but he never hesitated in carrying out the orders of the War Department, even if it involved the arrest of persons accused of treason.

He never faltered in his support of Mr. Lincoln, and when it was known that the proclamation of freedom to the slaves would be issued as a war measure, while many good men doubted its policy and not a few pronounced it unconstitutional and tyrannical, Governor Tod never for a moment wavered, but both publicly and privately endorsed and approved it. When Vallandigham was tried and convicted of treason by a court-martial, he advised the President to send him into the rebel territory instead of executing the sentence against him. In the darkest periods of the war, when the Federal armies were meeting with defeat, he often said to me, "We must stand by Mr. Lincoln; he knows better than any of us what is best, and this accursed rebellion must and will be put down." "Then it was that Governor Tod began to ascend from the eminence of party leader to the mountain height of loftiest patriotism." He exhibited, in a marked degree, the attributes of firmness, tempered with justice, benevolence and kindness to the unfortunate; sagacity and tact combined with unflinching integrity, and with all, a remarkable endowment of common sense were marked features of this character. To these must be added his social qualities and his ready wit and humor. He was sometimes grave and thoughtful, but never morose or out of temper. He endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact, and to the sorrowful and afflicted he always had a kind and cheerful word.

His short, but earnest speeches to the regiments and companies about to leave for the battle fields were full of patriotic sympathy and good advice. He called them his brothers and boys, and cautioned them to be careful of their health, to be temperate and always obedient to orders of their officers; to have coolness, patience and courage under all trying circumstances; to save their money and send it to their friends at home; that they were bound on a glorious mission, the protection and preservation of the best government in the world,

and the prayers and best wishes of all loyal people would go with them; that upon their good service might depend the future of our glorious Union. He assured them that every act of courage and bravery would be known at home and rewarded by a generous government. These addresses were received with enthusiastic cheers and responses of: "We will, we will."

He visited Camp Chase prisoners often and satisfied himself that they were well fed and cared for. To the sick prisoners he was especially kind, allowing them to see their friends. Mrs. Thurman, wife of Senator Thurman, a southern lady by birth and of a most benevolent and kind disposition, was allowed to visit and minister to sick prisoners at her pleasure. An order that the prisoners should deposit all their money in my hands, to be drawn out in small sums, subject to his approval, was strongly objected to at first, but finally became popular with the prisoners themselves, as every dollar was sacredly kept and any balance remaining at the time of their discharge or exchange was paid over to them.

During his term, many of the best young men of the South were taken prisoners and sent to Camp Chase prison; some of these young men were sons or neighbors of his political friends whom he had known before the war. To these and all other prisoners he was kind and courteous, granting them every privilege consistent with orders and regulations of the War Department.

One of the features of Governor Tod's administration was his noble and generous charity. To every object for the promotion of Union sentiment, for the aid of societies caring for sick and wounded soldiers, for the promotion of enlistments in the army, and in every other charitable movement, he was a conspicuous and liberal giver. The day he had been Governor six months he contributed his entire salary as Governor, up to that date, to the bounty fund for raising volunteers to fill up the depleted regiments in the field. He never allowed a mother, wife or sister of a sick or wounded soldier on their way to visit the loved one in camp, or hospital, to

ble and exhibited his model. I procured a plank and told him to bore a hole in it. He set the augur and began to turn the crank. But we discovered that he had set the screw the wrong way, and instead of boring itself in, it bored itself *out*." It proved a very apt illustration in the following almost unanimous nomination and election of Mr. Lincoln. After this Mr. Seward and Governor Tod each told an anecdote, and the interview ended.

In visiting the Capitol the next day, while in the hall of the Senate Chamber, I asked the Governor if he was not going to enter the Senate. He replied, "No, not until the people of Ohio send me there." He then had an idea, I think, that he might be elected to the Senate after the close of his term as Governor.

While on this visit to Washington an evening reception was given to the President and his Cabinet, and a few distinguished guests. In the course of the evening the President was talking to a circle of friends around him, among whom was his Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Wells. The President remarked that he had made a very interesting visit to the hospital that day. That he found one poor fellow approaching near his end, and he asked him if he could do anything for him. The soldier replied, "Mr. President, if you could only send for my grandmother, I think I could die happy after seeing her. She raised me, and I am very fond of her." I asked him where she lived, and he said in Iowa. I told him it would be impossible to get his grandmother there. "Oh, well," he said, "Mr. Lincoln, if you could send Secretary Wells to see me it would be a great comfort. He looks exactly like my grandmother."

Governor Tod and I were at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, together on the 10th of November, 1863, at the dedication of the National Cemetery, and sat near Mr. Lincoln when he delivered that memorable address of less than two hundred and fifty words, and occupied less than ten minutes, while the address of Mr. Everett, the orator of the day, was nearly an hour in delivery. Whenever reference is made to that memorable occasion, we recall his words: "We are met on a great battle-

field of the war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who gave their lives that this Nation might live. * * * But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot commemorate, we cannot hallow this ground. * * * It is rather for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased dovtion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Mr. Lincoln congratulated Mr. Everett on his able oration. In reply Mr. Everett said, "Mr. President, your short address will be remembered and quoted when I am gone and my oration long forgotten."

The years of 1862 and '63 were probably the most anxious period of the war to the loyal people of the North. Our Union army had met with severe repulse at Arkansas Post and at Stone River. A large element of the population of the State was hostile to the policy of the administration, and did not hesitate to criticise and find fault. It was reported that letters were written to soldiers in the field advising them to desert and come home and they would be protected from arrest. A powerful, secret, disloyal organization existed in this and other states, whose object was to cripple the administration and put a stop to the war. Demands were made upon Mr. Lincoln to withdraw the army from the field and treat for peace. The Democratic party in its National Convention solemnly pronounced the war a failure. Clement L. Vallandigham had returned to the state and was the favorite of his party for Governor; he was stumping the state and his meetings were largely attended, much enthusiasm being manifested. Great fear was felt by many that the next state election might result unfavorably to the Union cause. It was not until the surrender of Vicksburg on the 4th of July, and the terrible battle of Gettysburg was fought, followed by the battles of Lookout Mountain, Mission Ridge and Chattanooga, that the tide be-

gan to turn in favor of the Union cause and patriotic Union men began to take heart. These victories inspired the hopes of many, but it did not lessen the zeal and bitterness of the opponents of the Government.

Some of the men not friendly to Governor Tod began to discuss the question of his re-nomination for Governor, as had been done in the case of his predecessor, Governor Dennison. Governor Tod had, of course, made some enemies, but a large majority of the Union men in Ohio, and of the Ohio soldiers in the field, were believed to be friendly to him and desired his re-nomination. A few disappointed place-seekers opposed this and began to cast about for a man to succeed him. John Brough had been a popular and successful Democratic candidate for Auditor of State in 1839. One member of the Legislature from Washington county, together with a gentleman of this city, who was a politician and had favored the nomination and election of Mr. Tod and labored in the campaign, had become offended at the Government failing to appoint a friend of his to some position. These two gentlemen conceived the idea of writing to Mr. Brough, then General Manager of the Bellefontaine Railway, with headquarters at Indianapolis, but having a residence in Cleveland. They accordingly united in a letter to Mr. Brough, asking if he would allow his name to be used as a nominee for Governor on the Republican ticket. Mr. Brough replied, modestly, that Tod was a good Governor, but that in such times as these, every man should be willing to accept any call to duty for his country, etc.

This was sufficient encouragement and these gentlemen went to Cincinnati, enlisted William Henry Smith, then Manager of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, in favor of Brough's nomination, and from that time became the manager of the Brough campaign. A meeting was arranged for Mr. Brough at Marietta; it was largely attended and Mr. Brough made a long and patriotic speech in favor of the Union cause, giving the key-note for the next Republican campaign. This speech was published in the *Commercial Gazette* and other papers, and liberally distributed. Through Mr. Smith's influence the whole Republican press of the southern part of the state joined in the sup-

Briar Hill Furnace.

port of Mr. Brough, while the press of the northern part of the state adhered to Governor Tod for renomination. The *Gazette* and other southern papers harped upon the unpopularity of Governor Tod with the soldiers (which was not true). His action in securing the summary dismissal of Colonel Mason, of the 71st O. V. Infantry, charged with cowardice, was commented on unfavorably.

When the delegates met for the nomination of a candidate, the friends of Brough were very active and zealous. At the nominating convention only one division of the army in the field was represented, and the soldier vote at the election of Brough was only 41,467, when at the same time we had over 160,000 soldiers in the field entitled to vote. Who was to blame for the failure of representation of the large number of soldiers, I have never learned. At the nominating convention Brough received 216 votes and Tod 193, giving Brough the nomination by twenty-three majority. As soon as the vote was announced, Governor Tod rose on the platform and heartily endorsed the nomination, pledging his earnest support of the ticket, which was given, up to the day of the election. This was regarded as a wonderful exhibition of magnanimity by a candidate who, only a few hours before, felt confident of his nomination, as did many others. His speech was warmly applauded, and many who were present were moved to tears by Governor Tod's patriotic and earnest appeal for unity and harmony, and their disappointment at his defeat. And several who had voted for Brough said publicly, "We have made a mistake, we ought to have voted for Tod." The general feeling was then, and has been ever since, that a great injustice had been done to a most worthy citizen in not re-nominating him for a second term. But this was not a time of second term governors; Dennison was only given one term; Brough failed for a second term for precisely the same alleged reasons that had been urged against Governor Tod's re-nomination; and the next Governor, General J. D. Cox, was only given one term; thus, in eight years the state had four governors.

Brough was not even named for re-nomination at the Republican State Convention in June, 1865, but General J. D. Cox

was nominated by acclamation. Brough died on August 28th, 1865, and Lieutenant-Governor Charles Anderson filled the office until January, 1866, when General Cox was inaugurated.

After the election and Mr. Brough's inauguration, Governor Tod retired to his Brier Hill home, where he was happy and contented, looking after his large and prosperous business. I saw him frequently after his executive term closed, and once enjoyed a delightful visit with him and his family at Brier Hill. He always bore the same cheerful, buoyant spirit, and gloried in the preservation of the Union, to which he was so devoted, notwithstanding the enormous sacrifices involved.

On Mr. Chase's resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Lincoln telegraphed to Mr. Tod tendering him the place, which he immediately declined, fearing his health would not enable him to assume the important duties. He had more than once been threatened with the malady that finally ended his life.

After the defeat of Mr. Tod for re-nomination for Governor in 1863, and the election of John Brough, the many friends of Mr. Tod, anxious to show their appreciation of his services as Governor, advocated his election as United States Senator at the end of Mr. Chase's term, who had resigned in 1861 to become Secretary of the Treasury, and John Sherman had been elected to fill the vacancy. I know, personally, that Mr. Tod desired to be a Senator, but he would make no active canvass for the position. He said every office he had ever held came to him unsolicited, and any other must come in the same way. Besides, the many friends of John Sherman felt that he would be entitled to re-election after serving out the unexpired term of Mr. Chase. Mr. Sherman's following was large in the state, and the Republicans of the Legislature were nearly unanimous for him; he was elected Senator and Mr. Tod's name was not presented. Soon after his defeat for renomination as Governor, his friends spoke of him as a worthy candidate for delegate at large for the Electoral College of Ohio, and in February, 1864, I wrote to Mr. Tod informing him of this. On February 24, 1864, he replied as follows:

Brier Hill, Ohio, February 24, 1864.

General Geo. B. Wright,
Columbus, Ohio.

My Dear General: — Your favor of the 18th is at hand. I am proud to know that I have the confidence of so many good men as you name. It will be inconvenient for me to attend the Convention. Indeed, I would feel awkward in personally soliciting the position I desire. If the delegates in attendance do not think it for the interest of the cause we have at heart to place my name upon the ticket, I do not desire to have it placed there, and in writing you on the subject, I only desired to have it known that I would feel honored by the position.

Very truly yours,
David Tod.

This letter is characteristic of him; he was not an office seeker, but was always ready to respond to the call of duty to his country, of which he was an ardent lover. At the following election in November he was elected a presidential elector at large. But his death occurring on the 13th of November, 1868, he was not privileged to cast his vote for General Grant, as he would have done had his life been spared. The action of the Electoral College on the death of Governor Tod is given in the foregoing biography.

I attended Mr. Tod's funeral at Brier Hill, which was the largest assembly of the kind, except that of President Lincoln, that I have ever witnessed. The number present was estimated to be over twenty thousand. Governor Hayes, who was present, made some appropriate remarks as to the life and character of the deceased.

THE PATHFINDERS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO.

SUPPLEMENTARY TO VOL. VI. OF OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

BY W. H. HUNTER.

INTRODUCTORY.

This supplement to The Pathfinders of Jefferson County (a paper on the early settlements of Eastern Ohio, inspired by the celebration of the centennial of establishment of Jefferson County, August 24, 25 and 26, 1897), was commenced with view of correcting errors in the main publication, issued by the State Historical Society (Vol. VI); but the accumulation of data in the hands of the compiler made a more extended paper than at first contemplated. Letters from descendants of Pathfinders called attention to the fact that the names of the Fathers had not been given, while much had been written of their achievements. This defect has been corrected, in degree at least, in the following pages, which, it is believed, contain the names of a majority of the first settlers, these names having been gathered from many sources, principally legal documents. The compiler is not responsible for the variety of name-spelling; the names are given as he found them. Gathering material for this supplement has not been without effort and expense; but the compiler did the work as a duty falling upon him as a citizen; not because he felt he was more competent to perform the task of gathering and compiling the data, but others did not care to delve in the musty past. There is much work yet to do to complete the history of Jefferson County; there are journals in the Court House, from any one of which a historian can gather data for a valuable book, and it is desired by the writer of this that some one who has leisure will take up the work and put in enduring print these records. To do this is certainly the

duty of some citizen who expects no compensation beyond satisfaction of what is called patriotic yearning. At least, this work should be undertaken by some one whose whole time is not devoted to necessary business effort.

ORIGINAL BOUNDARIES OF COUNTY AND TOWNSHIPS—NOTES OF PATHFINDERS.

The original boundary of Jefferson County was: Beginning on the bank of the Ohio River at the intersection of the western boundary of Pennsylvania, down the river to the present town of Powhattan; west to near the west line of what is now Belmont County; north to near the present Town of Sandyville in Carroll County; west to Muskingum (now Tuscarawas River), up the Tuscarawas and across Portage to the Cuyahoga River; down the Cuyahoga to Lake Erie; easterly to Pennsylvania line and south to the place of beginning. The remainder of Harrison and Carroll Counties and a portion of Tuscarawas County were added January 31, 1807, but in the meantime other counties were organized; the dates thereof are noted on page 217 (Vol. VI.)

The first civil-township division made of Jefferson County was under the State Constitution, on the 10th of May, 1803, as follows:

Warren Township — Beginning on the Ohio River at the lower end of the county; thence west with the county line to the center line of the Seventh Geographical Township and Third Range; thence north with said center line until it strikes the north boundary of Eighth Township and Third Range; thence east with the township line to the Ohio River; thence down the river to the place of beginning.

Robert McCleary, who settled within the lines of this township in 1790, was appointed the first Justice of the Peace for the county. William Wells, who was an early settler on Yellow Creek, was also commissioned a Justice of the Peace by Governor St. Clair, the date being July 15, 1798. Other Justices in the county at that time were, D. L. Wood, Philip Cable and David Vance.

The first election in Warren was at George Humphrey's mill; Robert McCleary and George Humphrey were elected Justices; Joseph McKee, James Reilly and John Patterson, Trustees, John McElroy, John Humphrey and Benedict Wells having previously served as Trustees. Warrenton was laid out by Zenas Kimberly in 1802. The first house was built on the site of the town in 1800 by John Tilton, who settled in 1785 and who founded Tiltonville in 1806. Solomon Schamehorn settled permanently in 1797; the Lisbys in 1801, William Lewis 1801.

The first deed recorded in Jefferson County was for land in Warren Township, being that of the United States to Ephraim Kimberly for 300 acres near Indian Short Creek. The warrant was issued to Kimberly for services as a soldier in the Revolutionary War. The deed was given under seal at Philadelphia, 1795, and signed by George Washington. The tract was surveyed by Absalom Martin, and included the mouth of Short Creek. The southwest corner is marked by a stone monument.

Among the Pathfinders in the territory then included in Warren Township were: Alexander and James McConnell, David Rush, David Barton, John Winters, Samuel Patton, James Campbell, John Edwards, Peter Snedeker, John Henderson, Robert and William McCullough, Joseph Moore; all these in 1798-99. The Alexanders, Mitchells, Clarks and Pickens also came before 1800 and settled on what is now known as Scotch-Ridge, in Belmont County, where is located perhaps the oldest grave-yard in the original county. This division is noted in detail in account of townships erected from the original Warren Townships — Warren and Wells.

Short Creek — Beginning at the southwest corner of Warren Township; thence west with the county line to the western boundary of the county; thence north with the county line to the northwest corner of the Eleventh Geographical Township and Seventh Range; thence east with the township line until the line strikes the northwest corner of Warren Township; thence south to the place of beginning. Two Justices; election held at the house of Isaac Thorn. There were early settlements, mention of which is made in notes of townships organized later in

the southern part of the county. The township name is preserved in Harrison County. According to Record Book A, Isaac Thorn laid out a town named Thornville in 1802.

The territory included in the original Short Creek Township was early settled, there being squatters well up the valley before the Revolutionary War, Jesse DeLong having been born in this valley about 1776, and died at the age of 106 years. Joseph Huff ([1]) was living with his family near the site of New Athens in 1784.

Short Creek Township, when organized, included the site of one of the very first colleges in the West. Franklin College ([2]) was not founded by Dr. John McMilan, but the fact

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[1] In 1800 Joseph Huff, an Indian fighter of note during the turbulent times, killed an Indian on the headwaters of Short creek, near what is now Georgetown, Harrison county. In relating the incident, he said he was in the woods and seeing the Indian, he fixed the sight of his gun in range with the Indian's pipe, and the savage immediately fell dead! This would indicate that White Eyes was not the last Indian killed in Jefferson county. In writing to the compiler of this incident A. J. Hammond of Cadiz, says: Mrs. Capt. McCready of Cadiz, has in her possession a deed made to Joseph Huff for the farm on which her father lived, about one mile from New Athens, dated 1806, and signed by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. This farm was sold to Judge McFarland in 1824, and when the contract was closed Mrs. Huff pointed to a row of six apple trees, and said she planted those trees forty years ago, which would be 1784. One of these trees still lives and had quite a crop on it last year [1897]. Notwithstanding this positive statement, made on authority of well-connected tradition, Curtis Wilkin, a relative of Joseph Huff, writes that Joseph Huff did not settle on Short Creek previous to 1796; and that William Huff, and not Joseph, killed the Indian in the manner stated. Still, his wife may have planted the trees before her marriage; there can be no question as to the trustworthiness of the authority for the statement that the trees were planted in 1784. Mr. Wilkin also writes that the home of Joseph Holmes was the frontier house on Upper Short Creek for three years.

Richard Wells, a relative of the Doddridges and of Bezaleel Wells, and an early land speculator in this region, while walking on the river front near the site of the old water works, between Market and Adams streets in 1800, shot an Indian on the Virginia side of the river.

[2] The Charter of Franklin College is dated January 22, 1825, the names of Incorporators being Rev. John Rea, Salmon Cowles, John

that his nephew and pupil, also Dr. (William) McMilan, was the first President, gave the erroneous impression.

The Town of Cadiz, laid out in 1804 by Zaccheus Biggs and Zaccheus Beatty, was in this territory, being at the head of the Short Creek Valley, three branches of the creek having their sources within or near the corporation lines.

Archer — Beginning at the northwest corner of Short Creek Township; thence north with the county line until it strikes the north boundary of the Thirty-fourth Section in the Thirteenth Township and Sixth Range; thence east with the said line until it strikes the western boundary of the Second Range; thence south with said range line until it strikes the Short Creek Township line; thence west with the line to place of beginning. Three Justices; election at Jacob Ong's mill. The name of this township is preserved in Harrison County.

Steubenville — Beginning at the northeast corner of Archer Township, thence east to the Ohio River; thence with the meandering of the river until it strikes the line at Warren Township; thence west with the line of Warren Township until it

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Walker, David Jennings, William Hamilton, John McCracken, John Wylie, James Campbell, David Campbell, John Trimble, John Whan, Daniel Brokaw, Alexander McNary and Alexander Hammond. To these were added by election the same year: Rev. Thos. Hanna, John McLaughlin, Stephen Caldwell, Joseph Grimes and Matthew Simpson, uncle of the Bishop, Rev. Wm. McMilan of Canonsburg, Pa., was elected President, and John Armstrong of Pittsburg, Professor of Mathematics.

The leading spirit in this enterprise [founding Franklin College] was Rev. John Walker, a minister of the secession church. Mr. Walker was a fit son of that particular branch of the church: a church characterized by its zealous orthodoxy and sturdy theology. . . . He was a man of deep conviction on the subject of equal rights. Hence he entered into the anti-slavery contest with all the ardor of his impetuous nature, and during that long controversy was one of the leading anti-slavery spirits of the West. . . . For some time previous to the founding of Franklin college an academy had been conducted under his auspices at New Athens under the name of Alma academy, in active rivalry with a similar institution at Cadiz. . . . By the superior tact and energy of the Rev. John Walker, the charter [dated January 22, 1825,] was obtained for the academy at New Athens. . . . Dr. William McMilan was elected President and John Armstrong Professor of Mathematics.

strikes the southeast corner of Archer Township; thence with the line of Archer Township to the place of beginning. The township embraced Island Creek, Cross Creek and Salem Townships. Four Justices; election in the Court House, Steubenville, January 18, 1803, Zaccheus Biggs presiding. John Black was elected Township Clerk; Zaccheus Biggs, James Dunlevy and James Shane, Trustees; Richard Johnson and Jonathan Nottingham, Overseers of the Poor; Thomas Hitchcock, William Engle and Richard Lee, Fence Viewers; Matthew Adams and Samuel Hunter, Appraisers of Houses; Andrew McCullough, Lister of Taxable Property; Thomas Gray, George Friend, Daniel Dunlevy and Thomas Wintringer, Supervisors of Highways; Anthony Blackburn and Andrew McCullough, Constables.

According to a statement made by Mrs. Polly Johnson, her father, Augustine Bickerstaff, came to Steubenville from Fayette County, Pa., in 1798, the site of the city at that time be-

. . . Dr. McMilan was the nephew of Dr. John McMilan, [one of] the original founder[s] of Jefferson college at Canonsburg, Pa., of which institution he had been for some time President. He had thus been associated with, and reared under, the tuition of that noble band of men, the Smiths, Powers, McMilans and Ralstons, who were so instrumental in planting the seeds of Presbyterianism and sound learning in the country west of the Alleghanies. . . . John Armstrong was the mathematical oracle of Western Pennsylvania. He made all the almanacs and solved all the mathematical propositions for Western Pennsylvania. . . . . Learned societies in Europe recognized his attainments by admitting him to their fellowships. . . . What are the results? In this small college, with its two professors, were educated such men as the Hon. John Welsh of the Supreme Court of Ohio; the Hon. William Kennon, a member of Congress during Jackson's administration, a friend and advisor of the President; Wilson Shannon, a former Governor of Ohio; Dr. Joseph Ray, the well-known mathematical writer, whose works have maintained a longer popularity and gained a wider circulation than perhaps any other mathematical works ever written; besides giving to the church such men as Drs. Johnson, Bruce, Henderson, Walkinshaw. . . . . Surely this is harvest enough for less than seven years. . . . . Dr. McMilan died in 1832. . . . A Board of Regents was appointed as Trustees of a Medical Department of the college [to be established in Wheeling,] consisting of J. C. Bennett, Jonas Crumbacker, John C. Wright, Samuel Stokely, Alexander Campbell, S. H. Fitzhugh, James Garver, Peter Yarnell, John Truax, P. Doddridge, James Baker, W. A.

ing a thicket with only a few cleared lots here and there. "With our family came — Morris West, Gabe Holland, Nathan Casebier, John Johnson, Adam McDowell and Josiah Hitchcock. We found a ferryman named Hanlin at the river who brought us across. There was hardly to be found a soul in what is now the suburbs of Steubenville. There was one, John Parker, who was a trapper on Wells Run [Lincoln Avenue]. Bezaleel Wells was quite a young man and resided where Mr. Browning now lives. Father paid Wells, who was a real good, noble man, in sugar, molasses and other farm products, for a farm. When we first came father used to fetch salt on horseback over the mountains, until Hans Wilson opened a store; it was in that store I first saw calico and other goods offered for sale. I went to school three years after we came [1801], in a log hut, about a mile from our house, but only in the Winter as we had to work hard during the other seasons. The Winter teacher

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Ward, A. A. Lewis, S. P. Hildreth and John J. Johnson. The Regents nominated the following Professors for the Medical Department: John Cook Bennett, John McCracken, John Baxter, (New York) Chancey Fitch Perkins, (Erie, Pa.) Edson B. Olds, (Circleville, Ohio) James Chew Johnson, (Louisville, Ky.) James Garver, (Wheeling) A. J. Smith, (Louisville) Anderson Judkins, (Steubenville). This was such a formidable array of professors and so alarmed the Trustees with their President and one professor that nothing ever came of the project. [Dr. McMilan was succeeded by Rev. Richard Campbell; he by Rev. Johnson Welsh.] In 1837 the Board appointed Dr. Joseph Smith, then pastor of a church in St. Clairsville, the paternal grandson of the Rev. Joseph Smith, one of the pioneers of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania, and the maternal grandson of Dr. James Powers, his worthy coadjutor. He was thus from the same stock, and reared under the same tuition with Dr. McMilan. . . . The anti-slavery agitation was becoming more and more intense. The people who attended the ministrations of Rev. John Walker were almost to a man strongly anti-slavery. The Presbyterian General Assembly was divided. The congregation of Crabapple [near New Athens] was divided, although Rev. Jacob Coons, the pastor, was strong anti-slavery. . . . Dr. Smith opposed agitation of the question. . . . Mr. Coons left Crabapple and removed to New Athens and organized a Presbyterian church. Dr. Smith resigned the Presidency. . . . The majority of the Board was composed of anti-slavery men but it was not their intention to commit the college to this principle, [but the appointment of Dr. Coons to the Presidency, was evidence that the Trustees opposed compromise. Coons was succeeded in a year by Rev. Mr. Bur-

was called Madcap; a very clever man from Baltimore named McCulley, taught in the summer."

Mrs. Johnson also stated that she remembered hearing Lorenzo Dow preach on the street in Steubenville in 1799 or 1800. It is known positively that Dow was in the Short Creek Valley in 1798 and preached to the pioneers. He was known to deliver eloquent discourses to an audience composed of one person.

Michael Castner, grandfather of Thomas P. Spencer, Esq., who built a mill at the head of Willis Creek at the beginning of the century, was on the site of Steubenville while it was a wilderness, — before the place was considered as a town-site. He owned a store on the Monongahela River and one in Kentucky, riding on horseback from one to the other, and going through this region, he frequently stopped on the site of Steubenville. He bought a thousand acres of land in what is now Island Creek Township, and he was one of the pioneer merchants of Steu-

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nett, an Associate Reformed minister of near Pittsburg, but of Southern birth and reticent on the slavery question.] He resigned in a year, the prospects being discouraging, followed by Prof. Armstrong. . . . . They [the Board] resolved to . . . . throw themselves entirely upon the anti-slavery sentiment of the country . . . . [as] the place had come to be regarded as the hot-bed of Abolitionism in Eastern Ohio. . . . . [Rev. Edwin H. Nevin succeeded Mr. Burnett.] His eloquent denunciation of the monster iniquity, aided by the hot shot of Rev. John Walker, began to tell upon the community. . . . The college had become involved in debt, and the creditors sued for their claims. . . . . The consequence was that the property of the college was taken in execution, and sold under the hammer of the sheriff. . . . The college [property] was purchased by the colonization or pro-slavery party, and under the name of Providence college, they succeeded in establishing a rival institution. [The Trustees erected a building on the church lot and President Nevin continued his work.] The anti-slavery men had now fairly won the field. . . . . President Nevin, in having the bell cast for the college placed upon it: "Proclaim Liberty Through All the Land." [Dr. Nevin was succeeded (1845) by Rev. Alexander D. Clark who resigned in 1861]. . . . . Her [Franklin college] sons are found occupying positions all over the land. . . . She has given to the Senate of the United States a Cowan, a Fowler and a Sharon, and to the House of Representatives, a Kennon, a Bingham [also Minister to Japan] and a Lawrence. The Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1871 was

benville. Michael Castner built the fine old mansion near the Two Ridges Church now (1899) occupied by Dr. John Kilgore. His remains are interred in the Two Ridges churchyard. The grandfather of William Dean Howells settled near the Castner mill about 1819, after a short sojourn on Short Creek. During the summer of 1898 Orlin M. Sanford, Esq., of Pittsburg, found the old fireplace and numerous bits of crockery at one time utensils of the Howells family. He also found the luxuriant thyme bed mentioned by William C. Howells in his Story of Ohio — 1813-1840. There are still remaining traces of the old mill.

George Adams, father of Henry Adams now (1898) living in Steubenville Township, at the age of seventeen joined General Wayne's army, his parents then living in Fayette County, Pa. He aided in building Fort Recovery at which place he was stationed. He settled on Section 32, Steubenville Township, 1796.

Laban Parks came to the Ohio country from Virginia as a soldier and was stationed at Fort Carpenter, being in the fort at the time the Johnson boys made their famous escape from the Indians. He came to Steubenville in 1797, but settled in what is now Wayne Township in 1800. Colonel Todd, who for many years kept a tavern on the site of Garrett's Hall on Market Street, took a prominent part in the Western Whisky Insurrection.

Philip Smith, who was with the Crawford Sandusky Expedition, settled near Steubenville in 1799, where he lived until 1812, then removing to Wayne County.

James Hunter was the first (Sept. 18, 1798) white male child born on the site of Steubenville, and John Ward the second, born in October of the same year, Joseph B. Doyle of The Herald (1898) being a descendant of the same family. The first

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likewise a son of Franklin — George W. McCook. She is represented in halls of medical science by an Armor; on the Supreme Bench of Ohio by a Welsh; on that of Alabama by a Bruce, and in the Theological seminaries of the country by a Bruce, a Clark and a Henderson. Seventy-five per cent of her graduates have entered the Christian ministry, and some of the most distinguished and useful men who adorn the pulpit are found among them. — From Address of President A. F. Ross at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of Franklin College, New Athens, June 23, 1875.

white female child was Sarah Ward, born in 1801. Hannah Hunter, Ann Margaret Ward and Avery Brown followed.

Other early settlers of Steubenville Town and Township were: John England, Martin Andrews, Moses Hale, Squire Jenkinson, John Galbraith, Philip Cable, Eli H. McFeely, Bezaleel Wells, George Atkinson, James Johnston, Thomas Dadey, Robert Carroll, Thomas Kell, John Wilson, Brice Viers, John C. Wright, Nicholas Murray, John Hanlin, John Moody, John Ralfe, Solomon Silby, James Wallace, Thomas Hamilton, James Wilson, James Means, James Dick, Joseph Beatty, John McMillan, George Dohrman, Matthew Roberts, William Lowry, J. G. Henning, David Larimore, Thomas Scott, Moses Hale, William R. Dickinson, Samuel Williams, John Jenkinson, P. Snyder, J. C. Fisher, Samuel Tarr, Andrew and Robert Thompson, William Kilgore, Hugh Sterling, Samuel Patterson, Arthur Phillips, James Turnbull, Alexander Armstrong.

Rev. Lyman Potter, one of the first Presbyterian ministers, owned the land on which Mingo Junction was built. Jasper Murdock, a son-in-law, an early Presbyterian missionary in the Ohio country, owned adjoining land.

John Rogers, according to a sketch written by Very Rev. Dean Hartnedy, was probably the first adherent of the Catholic Church to settle in Steubenville Township, locating on Cross Creek in 1792. Previous to the War of 1812, he had a mill in operation, and made powder for the regiment organized in this county. William Arnold, whose people settled at Cadiz, at the age of sixteen, manufactured powder and carried it to Steubenville during that war.

Previous to 1812 the town of Steubenville was supplied with water from Springs west of Seventh Street, conveyed by means of hollow logs connected with the springs and laid under the streets after the manner of modern water-pipe lines. Cisterns were also provided and water was also furnished by water-haulers who obtained their supply from the river. Peter Snyder, the first distiller, fell into one of the wells which caved in and buried him.

Mary McGuire, at whose house St. James Episcopal Church was organized, came from Maryland with her son-in-law, Benja-

min Doyle, in 1798, and bought a portion of what is now known as the Infirmary farm, which was afterward purchased by the father of Gen. William Gibson; the latter was born on this farm. Benjamin Doyle was one of the most prominent of the Pathfinders. He established a tannery in Steubenville, in 1798, perhaps the first manufacturing industry in the city. Mrs. McGuire was the great-great-grandmother of Joseph B. Doyle of The Steubenville Herald, and of Charles Gallagher, Cashier of the Steubenville National Bank. Mrs. McGuire's husband died in Washington County, Pa., before she came to Ohio with her daughter Priscilla Doyle. Benjamin Doyle, the husband of Priscilla, who held a county office, provided the first public well in the town, this well being on Market street, near the Court House.

In this township was the Mingo Indian Village[3] noted in history, and to which village Mary Jamison[4] was brought and here she lived with the Senecas, her captors. Near here was fought the battle between Col. Buskirk and his followers, the avengers of Mrs. Buskirk so cruelly murdered, and the Indians, in 1793.[5]

Knox Township — Beginning at the northeast corner of Steubenville Township; thence west to the western boundary of the county; thence with the county line until it strikes the line of Columbiana County; thence east with the line of Columbiana County to the Ohio River; thence with the meandering of the river to the place of beginning. Two Justices; election at the house of Henry Pittenger.

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[3] When Logan removed to the Muskingum in 1774, after the killing of his relatives opposite the mouth of Yellow creek, the Senecas deserted Mingotown and it was never after occupied by the Indians. How long the Indian village had been occupied is unknown, still it is believed the Senecas lived there in 1755. — Caldwell.

[4] After the conclusion of the French-English war, Mary Jamison, learning that she was to be given up to the whites in accordance with the treaty, escaped into the wilderness with her half-breed children, and remained hidden until the search was over. She lived to an advanced age but never lost her attachment to Indian life. The Six Nations gave her a large tract of land known as the Garden Tract, which action was afterwards confirmed by the state of New York.

[5] In 1828 George Adams felled a large tree on the site of the Buskirk battle, cutting through a leaden ball an ounce in weight, supposed to have been discharged during the battle.

Knox included the whole of the northern part of the county and embraced the Yellow Creek region memorable as the scene of interesting history. Through this country marched Bouquet[6] and his intrepid army of fifteen hundred daring souls, to the Muskingum, in October, 1764, and the brave hearts who built Fort Laurens fourteen years after, followed the same trail. It was on or near this historic stream Logan was encamped, when through the machinations and intrigue of Dunmore and Connelly[7] the Indian chief's relatives were inveigled to their murder in

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[6] Early in October, [1764] the troops left Fort Pitt and began their westward march into a wilderness which no army had ever before sought to penetrate. Encumbered with their camp equipage, with droves of cattle and sheep for subsistence, and a long train of packhorses laden with provisions, their progress was tedious and difficult, and seven or eight miles were the ordinary measure of a day's march. The woodsmen of Virginia, veteran hunters and Indian fighters, were thrown far out in front and on either flank, scouring the forest to detect any sign of lurking ambuscade. The pioneers toiled in the van, hewing their way through woods and thickets; while the army dragged its weary length behind them through the forest, like a serpent creeping through tall grass. The surrounding country, whenever a casual opening in the matted foliage gave a glimpse of its features, disclosed scenery of wild primeval beauty. Sometimes the army defiled along the margin of the Ohio, by its broad eddying current and the bright landscape of its shores. Sometimes they descended into the thickest gloom of the woods, damp, still, and cool as the recesses of a cavern, where the black soil oozed beneath the tread, where the rough columns of the forest seemed to exude a clammy sweat, and the slimy mosses were trickling with moisture; while the carcasses of prostrate trees, green with the decay of a century, sank into a pulp at the lightest pressure of the foot. More frequently the forest was of a fresher growth; and the restless leaves of young maples and basswood shook down spots of sunlight on the marching columns. Sometimes they waded the clear current of a stream with its vistas of arching foliage and sparkling water. There were intervals, but these were rare, when, escaping for a moment from the labyrinth of woods, they emerged into the light of an open meadow, rich with herbage, and girdled by a zone of forest; gladdened by the notes of birds, and enlivened it may be, by grazing herds of deer. These spots, welcome to the forest traveller as an oasis to a wanderer in the desert, * * * On the tenth day the army reached the River Muskingum. — Francis A. Parkman.

[7] It was the general belief among the officers of the army of the colonists that Lord Dunmore received, while in Wheeling, advices from the British Government of the probability of the approaching war which

order to incite savage wrath to the heat of war. It was in this territory the Castleman girls were captured by Indians; and it was on this soil William Carpenter shot and killed White Eyes, the dissipated son of Col. White Eyes,[8] the staunchest friend the patriots had among the Indians; and he, too, passed along Yellow Creek with the soldiers on their way to build Fort Laurens, and to suffer in the siege of the first American fort on the Ohio frontier. The salt springs early discovered in this territory were a very important factor in the settlement of the Ohio country.

Jacob Nessley, who had fruit orchards on the Virginia side of the river, was early to take up land on the Ohio side, having picked out large tracts as soon as the Government survey was made and he was one of the most enterprising of the pioneer land speculators. Joshua Downard was in the Yellow Creek Valley in 1785, returning for permanent settlement in 1796. He was a notable factor in the development of the township, and like many of the sturdy Pathfinders lived to an advanced age, being more than one hundred years old at his death. Other early settlers were: James Alexander (1796), Isaac White (1798), James McCoy (1799), Baltzer Culp (1800). Squatters at the mouth of Yellow Creek were driven off and their cabins destroyed by fire by Ensign Armstrong in 1785. Mention is made of other Pathfinders in accounts of the townships formed out of Knox and organized later.

William Wells, one of the first Justices, bought land in February, 1798, from Robert Johnson of Franklin County, Pa., be-

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resulted in the independence of the colonies from Great Britain, and that afterwards all his measures in reference to the Indians, had for their ultimate object an alliance with the savages for aid to the mother country in the expected contest with the colonies. — Caldwell.

Capt. John Stewart's narrative of the battle of Point Pleasant includes much to show that Dunmore and Connelly were conspiring against the Americans and that the Indians who fought Lewis had information of advantage to them from Dunmore's scouts.

[8] While White Eyes started from Fort McIntosh at the mouth of the Beaver river, he did not reach the site of Fort Laurens, dying of smallpox on the way, August 10, 1778. The statement often printed that he was killed at Fort Laurens by an American soldier is untrue. Fort Laurens was not built until after the death of White Eyes.

ing lots 4 and 5 in the Ninth Township, Second Range, at the "mouth of Little Yellow Creek." The same year Wells sold to James Clark.

At the first election, over which James Pritchard presided, John Sloan was elected Clerk; Overseers of the Poor, Thomas Robertson, Jacob Nessley; Trustees, William Campbell, Isaac White, Jonathan West; Fence Viewers, Peter Pugh, Henry Cooper Alexander Campbell; Appraisers of Houses, John Johnston, J. P. McMillen; Lister of Taxable Property, Isaac West; Supervisors of Roads, John Robertson, Calvin Moorehead, Richard Jackman; Constable, Joseph Reed. In 1803 an election was held. Sloan was reëlected Clerk; Trustees, William Stokes, Thomas Bay (who was with Williamson at Gnadenhutten, and a squatter on Yellow Creek territory in 1785), and Henry Pittenger; Fence Viewers, Joseph Reed, William Campbell, William Sloan; Appraisers of Houses, Robert Partridge, Thomas Robertson; Lister of Taxable Property, Isaac West; Supervisors of Roads, Peter Pugh, James Latimer; Constable, David Williamson; Justices, J. L. Wilson, James Ball.

In dividing the county into civil townships[9] little or no at-

[9] Before Jefferson county was divided into the five civil townships of Warren, Steubenville, Knox, Short Creek and Archer in 1802, there were other civil divisions. Richland township — Jacob Coleman being Tax collector for 1799, the returns having been made to Jacob Martin, William Wells and Alexander Holmes, Commissioners; York — Thomas Richards being Collector in 1798; Kirkwood — Thomas Richards also Collector for this township, in 1799; Warren — John McElroy, Collector for 1798 and 1799; he produced a discharge signed by William Bell and Benj. Doyle, two of the former Commissioners; Wayne — David Moodey, Collector for 1799; Wayne is again mentioned in the Commissioner's Journal for 1802, in that John Hannah, Collector for the townships of Richland, Wayne, Knox, St. Clair and Beaver, had made returns. In the same record it is noted that the County Tax Listers had made returns: Robert McCleary for Warren, John Matthews for Cross Creek, Charles King for Steubenville, George Day for Wayne, Isaac West, Jonathan Paramore and Enos Thomas for St. Clair. The Lister for Beaver had not made returns.

Township 1, range 1, takes in the northeast corner of Wells township. Wells township includes fractional township 1, range 1. Had the surveyed township been complete it would have extended east of Warrenton six miles, or to the Pennsylvania line.

tention was paid to the surveyed township lines, Smithfield, Wayne, Cross Creek and Salem, being the only civil townships identical with the surveyed, and consequently several of the civil townships embrace fractional parts of several surveyed townships, making it quite difficult to ascertain the territory embraced in the original townships, out of which the townships, as now constructed, were made; but with the assistance of George P. Harden, the County Auditor (1898), the compiler has been enabled to give the lines accurately, together with the names of the original townships out of which the new divisions have been made from time to time.

The first civil township made from the original five was Springfield, which territory was separated from Knox, the date of action by the County Commissioners being December 6, 1804, "a considerable number of the inhabitants [of Knox] having made application to be set off in a township by themselves." The boundaries of the new township were recorded as follows: "Beginning at the northwest corner of Steubenville Township as formerly laid out, [now the northeast corner of Island Creek Township] and running north on the line between the Second and Third Ranges [between Island Creek and Salem, Knox and Ross, Saline and Brush Creek] to the northern boundary of the county; thence west with the county line to the northwest corner of the same [now in Carroll County]; thence south with the western boundary of the county, to the northwest corner of Section Thirty-three in the Thirteenth Township, Sixth Range; thence a straight line, through the center of said township, east to the southwest corner of Section Sixteen in the Tenth Township and Third Range; thence north to the northwest corner of said section; thence east to the place of beginning." Springfield as then constituted was much larger than now, as it embraced Brush Creek, Ross, half of Salem, a large portion of Carroll County and about the seventh part of Harrison County. The first election was called to be held at the house of David Lyon in Springfield, (Gillis' Town as the settlement was then often called). When Carroll County was organized (1833), although a part of this township naturally belonged to the new county, protest of the people kept the territory in Jefferson.

Solomon Miller, from Fayette County, Pa., was the first settler (1800) within the lines of the township as now constituted. He took up Section Ten and made improvements, but being unable to pay for the land, was dispossessed, and this section was entered in 1802 by Henry Miser. However, undaunted, as was characteristic of the spirit that gave the pioneer courage, Miller afterward entered Section Eleven and began life anew. Stewart McClave settled on Section Six in 1801, and the worthy progeny of a noble sire still possess the land. He was the grandfather of John McClave, Esq., of the Jefferson Bar. Following these Pathfinders came John Stutz, Joseph Gordon, Jacob Springer, Thomas Peterson, James Albaugh, James Rutledge, James Allman, Henry Isinogle, Robert Young, Adley Calhoun, William Jenkins, James Campbell, S. Dorrance and Philip Burgett. The latter, it is asserted, with John Lucker, manufactured the first salt produced on Yellow Creek, the experiment resulting in a bushel of salt.

Circle Green, one of the oldest Methodist Episcopal Churches in the county, was organized in Springfield Township by Rev. William Knox in 1809. A house of worship was built of hewn logs, each male member donating his labor in the construction. The first members were: James Rutledge and family, John Kirk and wife, W. Taylor and wife, William Scarlott and family, Alexander Johnston (father of Judge William Johnston) and family, Francis Johnson and wife, James Forster and wife, Henry Forster and wife. The old log church was occupied until 1829.

The first division of Archer (June 12, 1805) made a township including Wayne (the name given the new township), part of Green and German in Harrison County, and part of Salem in Jefferson, the boundaries being: "Beginning at the southeast corner of the Ninth Township in the Third Range, [southeast corner of Wayne as now constituted] and running west with the line of Warren and Short Creek, [Smithfield and Wells] to the southwest corner of Section Seven in the Tenth Township of the Fourth Range; north with the line of said section to the northwest corner of Section Nine in the Eleventh Township, Fourth Range; thence with the line of Springfield Township,

east [along the north line of Wayne] until it intersects the line of Steubenville Township, [the line between Cross Creek and Wayne] south to the place of beginning." This division left the remainder of Archer in what is now Harrison County. The election was called to be held at the house of Joseph Day. The elections in Archer having been held at the house of Nicholas Wheeler, and his house falling in the new township, the election was called for the house of George Pfautz.

Mention is made (page 214, Vol. VI) that John Mansfield was the first white child born in Wayne Township (1797). His father and mother Thomas and Mary (Hill) Mansfield, the father of English and the mother of Scotch-Irish ancestry, came from the Cumberland Valley to Western Pennsylvania, and becoming acquainted with Joseph Dorsey, one of the energetic land speculators in the Ohio country after the survey, the latter agreed to enter a section in Jefferson County for him. The proposition was accepted in good faith on the part of Mansfield, and he moved upon Section Four in what is now Wayne Township, the land ever since being known as Dorsey's Flats. After Mansfield had built a house and cleared ten acres, Dorsey refused to convey the title and Mansfield was forced to vacate. He then entered Section Three which is still possessed by his descendants. An apple tree planted by Mansfield in 1798 still bears fruit (1898). He was the father of twenty-two children, six by his first wife (Jane Shaw), all but one dying in infancy, and sixteen by his second wife (Mary Hill), all but one growing to manhood and womanhood. Mrs. Mary Mansfield who shared the hardships of the trying pioneer life with her sturdy husband, frequently traveled the pathless wilderness to attend Episcopal Church services at Charles Town (now Wellsburg, Va.) At the Mansfield house was held the first Methodist Episcopal meetings in Wayne Township, and here were heard the eloquent, scholarly, J. B. Finley and others of the itinerant giants, whose appeals to the unsaved were ever earnest and fervent, whose words of comfort were as a benediction to the righteous. Thomas Mansfield was the grandfather of Judge John A. Mansfield.

James and Anthony Blackburn and John Maxwell, all from Fayette County, Pa., settled in 1798. Other Pathfinders were —

Michael Slonecker, William Wright, John Lyon, Lewis Thockmorton, John Dickey, Richard Coleman, John Barrett, Jacob Shaw, James Tipton, John Tipton, Robert Christy, William Sprague, Hugh Trimble, Joseph McGrail, Thomas Carr, John Thorn, William Elliott, Samuel McNary, Jacob William, Zebidee and Christopher Cox, Thomas Bell, John Edington, John McClay, Sylvester Tipton, Henry Ferguson, John Matthews, John Kinney, Richard Ross, John Johnson, Jacob Vorhes, Morris Dunlevy, David Milligan, John Scott, Archer Duncan, Nicholas Merryman, James McFerren, William Ferguson, Thomas Rowland, William Hervey, Joshua Cole, Michael Stonehocker, Henry Beamer, Leonard Ruby, Manuel Manly, Tobias Shanks, Nicholas Wheeler, John Dayton, John Welch, John Vanhorn, Charles Stewart, Abel Sweezy, William Elliott, Elijah Cox, Thomas Arnold, George Hazelmaker, John Matthews, Richard Boren, Methiah Scammehorn, James Barber, James Sinkey, Amos Scott, Benjamin Bond, John Jones, Thomas Lindsey, Gabriel Holland, Patrick Moore, Robert McNary, John Hedge, Andrew Duncan, Peter Beebout, Thomas Moore, Andrew Johnson, Thomas Riley, Finley Blackburn.

Bloomfield was laid out by David Craig in 1817, and was an important place, being midway between Cadiz and Steubenville. The first teachers in the village were: Isaac Holmes, John Houghey, Joseph Dunlap, all Irish schoolmasters.

The first mill in Wayne Township was built on Cross Creek, (where Skelley's Station now is) about 1803, by Matthew McGrew.

On McIntyre Creek in this township, was established a colony of manumitted slaves by Nathaniel Benford of Virginia, in 1829, which colony is treated in a chapter beginning on page 274 (Vol. VI). Of the original colonists there were living in September, 1898, Collier Christian, Mrs. David Cooper, Mrs. Patrick Smith, Mrs. Paige Carter, Mrs. Martha Adkins, all feeble in old age.

The first division of Short Creek Township which resulted in the organization of Smithfield, was made November 7, 1805, the boundaries being recorded as follows: "Beginning at the southwest corner of Section Four in Township Seven of Range

Three [southeast corner of Mt. Pleasant as now constituted]; thence west with the line between the counties of Belmont and Jefferson to the southwest corner of Section Thirty-four in the same township and range; thence north with the range line to the northwest corner of Section Thirty-Six in Township Eight of Range Three; thence east with the township line [between Wayne and Smithfield] to the northeast corner of Section Six. Township Eight, Range Three, to place of beginning." In this was embraced Mt. Pleasant; and all west of the west line of the new township (part of Green and all of Short Creek, Harrison County, as now constituted) retained the name of Short Creek. The election was called for the house of William Story. The Commissioners at this time were Andrew Anderson, John Jackson and Benjamin McCleary, and John Ward, Clerk.

The township derived its name from the village, laid out by James Carr in 1802, on land entered by Horton Howard, a land speculator and a promoter of Quaker colonies. With his partner Abel Townsend, Howard entered considerable land in the southern part of the county. Among those buying land from Howard in Smithfield Township were: Caleb Kirk, W. A. Judkins, Joel Hutton, Casparius Garretson, William Wood and James Carr. The first settlement was made by two squatters, named Simpson and Tyson, who were on the land near the village before the survey but were forced to vacate in 1800, the section having been entered by William Kirk. Among the first permanent settlers in and about the village were Quakers from North Carolina, including Richard Kinsey, Christopher Kinsey, Mason Miller, Richard Jelkes, Malachai Jolly. These came in 1798 and 1799; John Morton, Cadwallader Evans, Joseph McGrew, Samuel Cope, James Purviance, John Naylor, Caleb Kirk, Thomas Carr, Richard Logan, James McGrail, John Cramblet, John Wallace, Nathaniel Kellims, John McLaughlin (member of Legislature in 1804), Nathaniel Moore, Walter Francis, Daniel Haynes. These came during 1799-1803 and settled in various parts of the township, the four latter near Adena, where Jacob Holmes, the Indian scout, had a Government grant, on which land was built one of the first Methodist Episcopal Churches (about 1800) northwest of the Ohio river. Daniel Haynes lived

to the age of one hundred and one years. During his life he related to his descendants, who still possess the land taken up by him, that about 1802 the family of John Jamison, composed of husband, wife and several children, the wife riding a cow with a babe in her arms, came from the Ohio River, up Short Creek to near Adena, and squatted on his land. They possessed nothing, and the settlers jointly built them a cabin. As was the custom, Jamison was permitted to crop all the land he could clear in order to give him a start. This was the first Ohio experience of the noted Jamison family of Harrison County, the family of squatters probably following a branch of Short Creek to a point near Cadiz.

The Holmes Church was organized by Jacob Holmes, Charles Moore, Richard Moore and Isaac Meek. In 1810, when a new church was built, the land was deeded to Jacob Holmes, John Stoneman, William Story, Jacob Jones, James Smith, S. Moore, E. Pierce, R. Moore and John Barkhurst, most of whom had settled at least ten years previously. Elias Crane, a local preacher, delivered the sermon on the cornerstone laying occasion.

J. B. Finley (1814) organized a Methodist Episcopal class in Smithfield Village. Among the members were: Benjamin Roberts, John Stout, James Coleman, Pollard Hartgrove, David Long, Thomas Mansfield, John Dougherty. Another M. E. Church was organized in 1815 and a building erected on the farm of James Wheeler who came from Maryland in 1803 and bought land from Nathaniel Kellims. The Trustees were: James Wheeler, Jacob Cramblet, Thomas Kems, Dennis Lowry, William Whitten. This church has not been in existence for near eighty years.

According to an extended paper on "Pioneer Experience," written by John S. Williams who was editor of "The American Pioneer," published in Cincinnati in 1843, he came with a party of Quakers from Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1800, the party including his mother, sister and brother, Joseph Dew, Levina Hall and Jonas Small and families. On arrival at Redstone, Pa., they found several families starting on the return, being dissatisfied with the new country's prospect. They had concluded it more comfortable to continue to endure the sight of slavery

so abhored, than to found a home in the wilds of Ohio. Among these were Jonas Small and Francis Mace. The others came on, and were met at Steubenville by Horton Howard, who escorted them to the Short Creek and Wheeling Creek Valleys. They stopped over night at Warren (Warrenton). A portion of the company of twelve families, went from Warrenton to John Leaf's, in the Concord (Colerain) settlement, where there was already a Meeting, and Joseph Dew and Mrs. Hall to Mt. Pleasant, the others going to Smithfield.

The Quakers established a Meeting in 1800, near the site of the village, the names of the first members being: Benjamin Townsend, Jemima Townsend, Malachai Jolly, James Carr, William Kirk, George Hammond, James Hammond, Daniel Purviance. The first marriage in the Meeting (1801) was that of Evan Evans and Mary Brite.

The first school in the village (1802) was taught by ——— Shackelford and Miss Armilla Garretson, the latter having lost both her legs and one arm. Joel Hutton, the first shoemaker, also taught. The first house in the village was built by Washington Whitten. The first tannery was managed by Belford Griffith. The first blacksmith was William Carr and Abel Carey was the first hat maker. The first hand grist mill was operated in 1804 by Isaac Wickersham, but shortly thereafter James Carr built a mill run by horse-power. However, it is quite certain that Jacob Ong operated a water mill on Piney Fork at an earlier period, his mill being mentioned in the Commissioners' journal of 1802-4, and tradition is, that he had Indians for customers. John Leech built a mill on the same creek in 1804, as did also Abner Hutton about the same time. James McGrew, who, it has been said, built the first water mill in the township, did not build until after the other mills were in operation. The widow of John Sherrard (who was with Crawford in his expedition against Sandusky), and four sons, including Robert A., father of the late Hon. Robert Sherrard, came from Pennsylvania and settled at Smithfield in 1804, and shortly thereafter moved to what is now Warren Township and built a mill near the mouth of Rush Run. The first physician in Smithfield Village was Dr. William Burrell (1806).

In this township was established (1800) the first Associate Reform (now Piney Fork United Presbyterian) Church in the county. The first ministers were Alexander Calderhead (twelve years), Rev. Thomas Hanna, Rev. John Walker, Rev. Joseph Clokey.

The Pork-packing industry became important as a great wealth-producing factor as early as 1815, at which time the Quaker philanthropist, Benjamin Ladd, engaged in this business, he having many establishments in operation. Between 1820 and 1840 the pork-packing industry of Smithfield and Mt. Pleasant, John Hogg being at the head of the business in the latter place, was greater than that of Cincinnati, then considered the most extensive pork-producing city in the country. Mr. Hogg was one of the most enterprising of the pioneers, having at one time a dozen tanneries in operation in different parts of the country.

June 4, 1806, the Sixth Township of the Second Range, was separated from Steubenville Township, and named Cross Creek Township, leaving Steubenville composed of the territory now embraced in Steubenville and Island Creek Townships. The election was called for the house of John McCullough.

Cross Creek Township was surveyed into sections by Alexander Holmes in 1801, and in 1802 into quarter sections by Benjamin Hough.

Among the first settlers were: William McElroy, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, William Whitecraft, George Mahon, James and Daniel Dunlevy, Augustine Bickerstaff, John Johnson, Eli Keily, John Rickey, George Halliwell, John McConnell, John Long, John Scott, Moses Hunter, (1797-1800); John Ekey, James Thompson, John Permar, James Scott, Thomas White, Jacob Welday (a German), Hugh McCullough, John Foster, John Williams, Joseph Dunn, Nathan Caselaer, Samuel Smith (who laid out New Alexandria in 1832, and was the first to introduce horse-mills in this country), George Brown, William Moore, John McCann, Aaron Fell, William Hanlon, J. A. J. Criswell, John Lloyd, James Maley, Jonathan Hook, Peter Ekey, David Powell, Robert Hill (just over the line in Steubenville Township, in 1798, and descendants still possess the land),

Thomas Johnson, William Cassell, John McConnell, William McConnell, William Woods, Charles Maxwell, the Stokes and the Dinsmores (1800-9). Robert McConnell came about 1811, and settled on land now occupied by Joseph and Robert H. McConnell; Thomas Elliott, Andrew Anderson, John Wright, Samuel Irons, John McDonald.

In 1810 George Mahon built the first hand-mill, to which he applied horse-power two years later. The first water-mill was built by Nathaniel McGrew in 1806. Other early mills were operated on Cross Creek and McIntyre, the first saw-mill having been built by Charles Maxwell in 1807. A cotton factory was built near the mouth of McIntyre Creek in 1814, and in 1827 it was changed to a woolen factory by John and James Elliott and George Marshall, it then being the most extensive factory of the kind in the county, perhaps country, outside of Steubenville. The first distillery was built by Daniel Dunlevy on Section Thirty-three in 1803. Following this one others were built and operated by John McConnell, William McConnell and Nathaniel Porter. Many of the Pathfinders became skilled in this manner of reducing for market the bulk of their fruit and grain in Western Pennsylvania, and if hedges could have spoken there might have been record of skill acquired before leaving Ireland.

In this township was organized the first Protestant Episcopal Church northwest the Ohio (St. James, 1800), the vestry of which has the oldest and most complete church record in Ohio — names of members, baptisms, marriages, deaths. This record also preserves the first petition and the names of the signers, all of whom were of this parish (1816), asking the General Convention to establish a diocese in the Western country. (See page 262, Vol. VI. Omit from the petition-signers the name of James Dunlevy erroneously printed).

While there were schools in Cross Creek Township as early as 1800, as noted on page 247 (Vol. VI), the first schoolhouse was built in 1804, near the present No. 4 schoolhouse, on land owned by Mrs. Usher Stark, the first teacher being an Irishman named Green. In 1807 a school was taught in a log cabin in District No. 1 by a teacher named Evans. In 1809 a subscription school was taught in the Long settlement by Mr. Morrow, the

subscription price being $1.50 per quarter for each pupil. In 1806 Richard McCullough taught a school in District No. 5.

Up to 1816, when Rev. Mr. Snodgrass organized the Cross Creek Church, the Presbyterians of this township attended services at the Steubenville or Two Ridges Churches. The Methodist Episcopal adherents held services at the dawn of the century in the cabins of the settlers. The Methodist Episcopal Church of New Alexandria was organized after separation from the Old Log Church, in 1838, at which time lots were deeded to the church by Nathan Thompson, the Trustees being: John Thompson, James Holmes, John Casy, Sr., Andrew Scott, William Elliott, John Moore, William Fields, John George, Matthew Thompson.

It was in this township "Billy McConnell, the Witch Doctor," lived, of whom Prof. Christie wrote an interesting work about 1830, but now out of print and impossible to obtain, the copies then in circulation having been destroyed in more recent years by descendants of persons mentioned in the book.

John Rickey came to the Northwest Territory from Pennsylvania in 1800, and settled near the site of Cross Creek Presbyterian Church, on Dry Fork. He had been a Captain with Abercrombie in the French-English War, and was a Colonel in the Revolutionary War. He died in April, 1823, at the age of ninety-eight years, having been thrown from a spirited horse upon which he was riding from Dry Fork to Steubenville, via what is now Wintersville, and falling under the wheels of a wagon at which the animal scared, he was so seriously injured that he died shortly thereafter. He was a very prominent man in the affairs of the county, and was one of the first elders of the First Presbyterian Church of Steubenville. His son, John Rickey, was in the Second War for Independence. To the son of the latter, Hon. Joseph M. Rickey, for eighty-four years a resident of Jefferson County, the compiler is indebted for much information contained in The Pathfinders of Jefferson County, given him in conversation and afterwards noted. An aged man at his death, he was closely linked with the past through his grandfather and father, retaining by a marvellous memory all historical facts that came to him. He died in Cleveland, No-

vember 9, 1898; a man of worth, noble, honest. His grandson, Leo Dautel, of Cleveland, married a great-granddaughter of Adam Poe, noted in Jefferson County history.

At the session Cross Creek[10] Township was organized (June 4, 1806) the County Commissioners set off the Sixth Township of the Second Range and named it Island Creek Township, leaving Steubenville Township composed of fractional parts of Townships Two and Three of fractional Ranges One and Two. Then, by another resolution, the fractional part of Township Three of Range One was cut off Steubenville and added to Island Creek.

Among the first settlers were: Isaac Shane, Michael Castner, James Shane, Daniel Viers, Jacob Cable, Philip Cable, Andrew Ault, James Ball, William Jackson, Richard Lee, John House, Daniel Arnold, John Simpson, Richard Brisbane, James Patterson, Charles Armstrong, Wm. Jackman, Adam Hout, John Moore, Charles Porter, Thomas Fleming, Andrew Huston, Joseph Howells, James Crawford, Abel Crawford (the latter owning the Red Mill, near Mt. Tabor early in the century), John Rhinehart, Moses Arnold, John Frederick, George Watson, Samuel Hanna, James Ekey, Rutherford McClelland. The fathers of Judge William Day and Judge Phillips of Iowa, the father of the late Judge William Lawrence of Ohio, and father of Hon. Joseph Fowler, ex-United States Senator of Tennessee, were early settlers of this township. Joseph Howells was the grandfather of William Dean Howells. The first settler was the father of Ephraim Cable, a squatter (and was of part Huguenot blood), for he built a block-house at Cable's Ferry (now Cable's Bend) in 1785, and here Ephraim was born two years later. Ephraim married Sarah Clemens who bore him fourteen children, and the name and stock still endure.

There was evidently a large population in this township in 1800, as in that year what is still the Island Creek Presby-

[10] The most of the settlers of Cross Creek township were Scotch-Irish of firm religious conviction, and might be classed as Episcopalians, Methodists and Seceders, [Presbyterians] who worshiped God in Spirit and Truth, under the forest trees or in the humble cabins, without vanity or the taint of hypocrisy. — From T. A. Thompson's unpublished contribution to the Centennial history.

terian Church, was organized by Rev. Mr. Snodgrass, and two years later the Two Ridges Presbyterian Church was organized by the same minister, who also preached in Steubenville.

The first elders of the Two Ridges Church were: James Cellars and James Bailey; Samuel Thompson, Andrew Anderson and George Day were soon thereafter added, and in 1817 Thomas Elliott and Thomas Hunt were elected elders. Rev. Mr. Snodgrass was succeeded by Rev. William McMillan who also had charge of Yellow Creek (Bacon Ridge) Church. During his pastorate James Torrance, Benjamin Coe, Henry Shane, William Winters, James Milligan and David Gladden were elected elders.

The first Methodist Episcopal Church was organized by Rev. J. B. Finley at the house of Adam Jackman, in 1814. The first members were: Richard Coulter and wife, Adam Jackman, Mary Jackman, Margaret Jackman, Isabel Whittaker, Jane Rattison, George Alban, Garrett Albertson, William Nugent, Richard Jackman, Jane Jackman, John Armstrong, James Crawford, Martin Swickard (with Crawford in his expedition, dying at the age of ninety-six), Margaret Swickard, Jacob Vail.

There were schools at a very early date, but there is no record, except that the statement is made on authority of tradition that the members of these churches at first held services in private residences and school houses. The Mt. Tabor school, although evidently not the oldest in the township, is the oldest of which the compiler can find information. This school was held in a log house, first built for a habitation, in 1812, the first teacher being William Jackman. Marks of the foundation of this educational institution, whose archetype was everywhere in this part of Ohio early in the century, are still (1898) visible. In 1814 a log structure was erected in the Mt. Tabor District. Destroyed by incendiary fire four years later, a brick house was erected, in which school was taught during the earlier days by Lancelot Hearn, John Hawhey, John Beebout, George Armstrong, James Mitchelltree. The late Judge William Lawrence, who was born in Smithfield township, attended this school.

Andrew Ault, who came to Island Creek from Pennsylvania in 1797, was a son of a privateer during the Revolutionary War,

who was captured while bringing prizes into the Port of Philadelphia, he not knowing the British were in control, and was sent to England as a prisoner. He escaped and returned to America, building near Redstone the first linseed-oil mill in the West. Descendants still own the land in this township upon which Andrew settled.

Andrew Huston, of the blood of Gen. Sam Houston of Texas fame, came from the Cumberland Valley, and settled in Island Creek Township in 1809, locating at the mouth of Wills Creek, the house being on the site of the present (1898) Steubenville Water Works. He afterward removed to the central part of the township, where was born John Andrew Huston, father of Sam Huston, the County Engineer, the homestead still standing. Sam Huston has in his possession an iron tomahawk found in Wills Creek and an iron Indian axe found near Richmond, in Salem township.

Michael Myers (an Indian scout and who was an unconscious tool of Connelly in aiding to incite the Indians, which resulted in the Dunmore War), owned the site of Toronto, a portion of which town is in Island Creek Township. [See pp. 155-8.]

Island Creek, Wills Creek and Town Fork of Yellow Creek, furnished power for many early flour mills, there yet being remains of these early industrial enterprises. What is now known as Bray's mill, a half mile above the mouth of Island Creek, was built about 1800 by Jacob Cable, to which, in 1824, John Bray and William Findlay attached a woolen-mill.

On the 3d of March, 1807, Smithfield Township was divided, that part of Seventh Township of the Third Range remaining in Jefferson County after the civil organization of Belmont County being set off, leaving Smithfield a complete township. The new township (civil) was named Mt. Pleasant after the town established by Robert Carothers and Jesse Thomas, the first proprietors, in 1802. The village was first called Jesse-Bob Town, which so shocked the good taste of the Quakers from North Carolina, that they not only changed the name to one more euphonius and appropriate, but left record of opinion ex-

pressed as to the Scotch-Irish Pathfinders, that "they were an uncouth, thriftless set."

The election was called for the house of Benjamin Scott in the Village of Mt. Pleasant, the officers to elect being mentioned as Township Clerk, three Trustees, two Overseers of the Poor, two Fence Viewers, two Appraisers of Houses, one Tax Lister, two Supervisors of Highways, two Constables and a Treasurer.

There is much interesting history associated with Mt. Pleasant, and many pages of the main part of this work are devoted to its relation. Perhaps other townships are even more historically interesting, but in no other township has history been so well preserved as in Mt. Pleasant. Mrs. Anna E. Withrow, who heard Rev. Joseph Anderson, the first minister of the third Presbyterian Church in the Ohio country, preach, and is still (1898) living, has kept many historical facts fresh in her wonderful memory and to her historians of the township are indebted for data of much interesting history.

Among the first settlers (additional to the names given on page 214) were: Robert Hurford and Aaron Thompson, (Pa.,) Robert Blackledge, James, Jesse and Aaron Kinsey, Amassa Lipsey, Jeremiah Patterson, Faith Patterson, Enoch Harris, (N. C.,) Isaac Ratcliff, Joseph Steers, Merrick Starr, John Hogg, Archibald Job (descendant of the noted Defoe family), William McConnaughy (soldier of the Revolutionary War and in the Battle of Bunker Hill), Joseph Gill (Va.), William Hawthorne, Aaron Packer, Samuel Irons, Mrs. Elizabeth Sharon (grandmother of the late Senator William Sharon of Nevada), Eli Kirk (a pioneer hatter, and grandfather of Mrs. James W. Gill of Steubenville, and father of Robert Kirk, at one time Lieut. Governor of Ohio), Elisha (a woolen manufacturer), Caleb and Solomon Bracken, Thomas, Clark and Matthew Terrell, Osborne Ricks, George Washington Mitchell, Porter Mitchell, Robert Evans, R. B. Smith, James Johnson, Joseph Kithcart (tanner and surveyor), William Woods, Isaac Brown, Jacob Flanner (uncle of Abbie), Paren Cuppy (who killed an Indian on the stream in Smithfield Township named for him), James Taylor

(manufactured nails for John Hogg), Edward Lawrence, William Robinson, William Chambers, William Lewis.

The land upon which the village of Mt. Pleasant was established was so attractive on account of beauty of location, as early as 1800, that twenty men camped on the site, awaiting chance to purchase the section. The competition was so intense that it was decided by lot which one should be privileged to buy the land, the lot falling to Robert Carothers, who was there in 1796, and his name still remains as a sign on a building erected by him early in the century.

Benjamin Scott was very early in the Short Creek Valley, and his wife's mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Davison, was the first buried in the township, the grave being on the Kithcart farm, on a knoll, near a buckeye tree. The date of interment was February, 1800.

William McConnaughy crossed the river at Charles Town (Wellsburg), to the mouth of Short Creek, and ascending the hills, settled on Irish Ridge, his being the second team to pass over the road. The first was that of John Taggart. In 1807 Taggart brought apple-seeds from the East, and the trees grown from them still bear fruit.

Nathan and Ann Updegraff came from Virginia and settled on Short Creek where he built a mill in 1803, the site being two and one-half miles northeast of the village. Nathan was a very prominent man in the affairs of Pennsylvania before going to Virginia, and he was one of the representatives of Jefferson County in the Constitutional Convention in 1802.

The first store in Mt. Pleasant was established by Enoch Harris in 1804; the second by Joseph Gill (from Virginia) in 1806, and the third by John Hogg in 1812. Both Hogg and Gill were men of large affairs and were among the leaders in the business enterprises of Eastern Ohio. Hogg engaged in the manufacture of woolen goods, flour, leather and often reduced the leather to harness and saddles, and during the Second War for Independence he employed many workmen in producing saddles, harness, belts and cartridge-boxes for the American troops. The pork-packing industry carried on by these men was very

extensive in its magnitude. Before the Stillwater Canal[11] was in operation Mt. Pleasant was the most extensive wheat market in the state, there being numerous mills in the Short Creek Valley reducing the grain to flour which found profitable market on the Lower Mississippi. Those were bustling and prosperous times for the peaceful village that now so quietly sleeps on the pleasant mount overlooking the wide expanse of beautiful productive country watered by Short Creek, the eye almost reaching the very source of the stream in the hills upon which stand Cadiz, in Harrison County.

Hogg also manufactured nails, which were so high in price compared with farm produce, that the necessity was very urgent if the settlers used them. It is related that Robert Harriman of Hammond's Cross Roads, carried two bushels of oats to Mt. Pleasant and received in exchange one pound of nails! In Mt. Pleasant there were numerous blacksmiths, cabinetmakers, tailors, hatters, weavers, shoemakers, spinners, tanners and printers — there was publishing in Mt. Pleasant quite early in the century; Mt. Pleasant was not only an industrial center, it was the literary center of Eastern Ohio between 1817 and 1854: Here Charles Osborne, afterward associated with Benjamin Lundy[12] issued in 1817, The Philanthropist, a journal

[11] Many lives were sacrificed in the construction of the Ohio canal system. James Hunter, from Westmoreland county, Pa., a Pathfinder of Wayne county, Ohio, grandfather of the compiler, was a contractor in the construction of the canal in the Stillwater country, and died of malarial fever in 1829.

[12] A work was published in Philadelphia, in 1847, by William Parish, under the title "The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, including Journeys to Texas and Mexico; with a Sketch of Contemporary Events, and a Notice of the Revolution in Hayti." Compiled under the direction and on behalf of his children. The matter of the book (316 pages) is largely made up from correspondence with a half sister, and extracts from The Genius of Universal Emancipation. In speaking of him this sister writes: "His kind disposition and engaging manners soon won my attachment, and I received many demonstrations of kindness from him. . . . My recollections of him were always so gentle and tender that I could not bear to hear a word said in disapprobation of him." [Lundy's mother's name was Shotwell, she dying when Lundy

devoted to the discussion of sociological and religious problems. Here, in 1821, Lundy published The Genius of Universal Emancipation, the first abolition paper in America. [See pp. 283-4.] The Osborne printing house was purchased by Elisha Bates, who continued The Philanthropist as a magazine up to 1822.

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was five years of age. Before removing to Handwich, N. J., where Lundy was born in 1789, the parents lived in Bucks county, Pa. His father was a Quaker preacher. Lundy lived in Mt. Pleasant before going to Wheeling where he learned the saddlery trade.] "On leaving Wheeling I returned to Mt. Pleasant, where I became acquainted with William Lewis and his sisters, one of whom I afterwards married. Here I published, anonymously, my first poetical effusion. It was an answer to a tirade of a bachelor against matrimony. . . . I was married and set up in business at St. Clairsville. . . . I began with no other means but my hands and a disposition for industry and economy. In little more than four years, however, I found myself in possession of more than three thousand dollars worth of property. . . . I had lamented the sad condition of the slave. . . . I called a few friends together and unbosomed my feelings to them. The result was the organization of an anti-slavery association, called the Union Humane Society. [This was in 1815.] Soon after this occurrence, proposals were issued by Charles Osborne, for publishing a paper at Mt. Pleasant, to be entitled The Philanthropist. . . . . At length Charles proposed to me to join him in the printing business, and take upon myself the superintendence of the office. [With this view he took his stock to Missouri with expectation of disposing of it.] I had lost at St. Louis some thousands of dollars, and had been detained from home a year and ten months. The tide of misfortune to me was caused by the utter stagnation of business which at that time [1819] overspread the whole country, and occasioned the sacrifice of property to an incalculable amount. Before I left St. Louis I heard that as I had staid from home so much longer than had been anticipated, Charles Osborne had become quite tired of the employment of an editor, and had sold his printing establishment to Elisha Bates, and also that Elihu Embree had commenced the publication of an anti-slavery paper called The Emancipator, at Jonesborough in Tennessee, . . . On my way home I was informed of the death of E. Embree; and as E. Bates did not come up to my standard of anti-slavery, I determined immediately to establish a periodical of my own. I therefore removed to Mt. Pleasant and began the publication of The Genius of Universal Emancipation. . . . In four months my subscription list had become quite large. . . . When the friends of Elihu Embree heard of my paper they urged me to remove to Tennessee. . . . After having issued eight numbers, I started for Tennessee. . . . I rented the printing office and immedi-

In this year Horton Howard[12a] began the publication of The Juvenile Museum, a semi-monthly magazine. From 1827 to 1832 Elisha Bates published The Miscellaneous Repository. In 1837 Bates published a religious journal devoted to discussion of the questions then disturbing the equanimity of the Quaker Meeting, questions which rent the Meeting in twain. At about the same time John Wolf published The Life Boat. Numerous books were also issued from the Bates press, including Borton's Poems, in 1823; The Juvenile Expositor, by Elisha Bates, in 1823; Sacred History, in 1854. Hunt's Hymns were also published by Enoch Harris, Bates' printer.

The first tavern in the village was established in 1806 by Benajamin Scott. Dr. William Hamilton was the first physician and Dr. Isaac Parker the second. In 1835 Dr. Hamilton established in Mt. Pleasant one of the first asylums in the state for care of insane patients.

Dr. Robert E. Finley, who studied medicine under Dr. Hamilton, manufactured salt on Short Creek in 1817, his brothers, Patrick and Thomas, being associated with him.

Up to the Second War for Independence Mt. Pleasant consisted of only a few log cabins, but one of the results of that war was to quicken industrial enterprise in Jefferson County, and Mt. Pleasant as well as other villages felt the benefit of the

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ately went to work with the paper, working myself at the mechanical as well as editorial department." [The first publisher of anti-slavery literature died in Lowell, Ill., August 21, 1838.]

A copy of this most valuable contribution to the history of the period is in possession of the State Library, and the compiler is indebted to the kindness of Hon. G. B. Galbreath, the Librarian, for opportunity for its perusal. In writing he says: "We do not permit works of this character to go out, but as you have done much to preserve the history of Ohio, the library is at your service to the fullest extent."

12a "The first United States government land office for the sale of the public land in the northwestern part of Ohio, was at Delaware, O., where, in 1820, I bought 160 acres of land. The register was Platt Brush, and the receiver was Horton Howard, a Quaker, whose handsome daughter I thought a great deal of." From a letter written March 11, 1887, to James H. Anderson, of Columbus, O., by the Hon. M. H. Kirby, of Upper Sandusky, O., a distinguished man, then about 90 years old.

awakening. Joseph Steers, a miller of notable enterprise, having heard of Joseph Howells[13] as a skilled mill-wright, brought him from Waterford, Va., in 1813, for the purpose of adding machinery to his flour-mill for manufacturing woolen goods. Howells came to Brownsville, Pa., with his family, in a wagon, and then down the river to the mouth of Short Creek in a boat. Going up the creek to near Mt. Pleasant, he found that Steer's mill had been destroyed by fire. He aided in the reconstruction and put in the woolen-mill plant. The work was most difficult to perform, much of the machinery being made by hand, the spindles by local blacksmiths. From Mt. Pleas-

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[13] My father moved his family into Steubenville [from Mt. Pleasant] in 1816, when I had just entered upon my tenth year. I was rather a forward boy, and especially interested in manufacturing and mechanical work, of which I had a good conception for one of my years, so that now I have a good recollection of what I then saw. When recurring to that time, say August, 1818, and onward for a few years, I am rather surprised at the variety, as well as extent of manufactures, in which the people of South-eastern Ohio and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia were engaged. The town of Steubenville, where the inhabitants numbered about 2000, was a center of these operations, that was typical in its way of the whole. The chief manufacture of the place was woolen cloth, carried on by a company founded about 1812 on a more extensive scale than any in the state or west of the Allegheny mountains at that time. . . . There were paper mills at Mt. Pleasant and Steubenville. . . . . James Watt did a driving business as a wheel-wright, making hand spinning-wheels. An iron foundry was carried on by Martin Phillips, [in which President McKinley's father was employed.] Connected with it Adam Wise had a machine shop. Mr. Wise made the first plows of the country with iron mould-board, [John Rickey of Cross Creek, having made the model.] — William C. Howells in Howe's Historical Collection.

"Twenty-five acres was the extent of the available land [in the Wills Creek farm] the rest being hillside on which nothing but trees would grow; and being one of the first places settled in the country, the land was worn out and hopelessly poor. The man who had cleared it had planted an apple orchard and peach orchard of five or six acres, so that when there was a fruit season there were plenty of apples and peaches. He had improved it with a log barn and two log cabin houses, but he had cut every stick of timber off the land that could be worked into staves and shingles or rails. . . . It may seem a strange way of living now, but it was very common for the log cabins to have no windows

ant Howells moved to Steubenville, and from Steubenville, in 1819, to the headwaters of the South Branch of Wills Creek. He was employed as wool-sorter for the Wells woolen-mills up to 1826. The Gills and Brackens also manufactured woolens in Mt. Pleasant.

There was an early Methodist Episcopal Church, perhaps 1808 or 1810, one of the first pastors being Rev. Dr. David Mc-

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whatever. In extreme cold weather the door would be closed, and likewise at night, but mostly by keeping a good fire the door could be left open for light and ventilation, and the chimneys were so wide and so low, very often not as high as the one-story house, that they afforded as much light as a small window. These chimneys were always outside the house at one end, and it was very common for them never to be finished or built beyond the fire-place. The manner of building them was to cut through the logs at the gable end, a space of six or eight feet wide and five or six feet high; and logs were built to this opening like a bay window; this recess was then lined with a rough stone wall up as high as this opening; from that point a smoke-stack was built of small sticks split out of straight wood and laid cob-house fashion to the heighth desired, and then plastered inside and out with clay, held together by straw. A very common event was for these chimneys to take fire, in which case it was necessary to use water bountifully or pull them down. Ours had so settled away from the house that we steadily expected it to pull itself down. But like the tower of Pisa it stood against all the gravity that affected it, I suppose, till the house went also. The repairs delayed our moving till after New Year's, 1819.

"Just before we moved out, my Uncle Powell and his family, who had stopped on their way from England near Richmond, Va., long enough to spend all the money they had, came to Steubenville, and as he had engaged a farm that he could not enter upon till spring, he took the house we lived in. He, however, had a team of horses and an old stage coach in which the family had traveled from Virginia, that still bore the lettering, 'Richmond and Staunton Mail Stage,' which was a rather stunning thing in itself, while it served them some of the purposes of a wagon. When we moved, we used this to transport the family and most of the goods, by making repeated trips. On the last trip out, as it was late at night, the man who drove the wagon stayed till morning. After unhitching, he left the coach standing in the lane, where it terminated on the brow of a very steep hill. It had not stood there long till an enterprising old sow, making a survey of the machine, got her nose under a wheel, when it started down the hill. We heard the rumbling, and just got out in time to see it going over a grade of thirty-five degrees, and landing in a thicket of bushes. The next day, after great labor, the run-

Masters, at whose home Dr. Stanton[13a] met Lucy Norman, who became his wife and the mother of Edwin M. Stanton. In the division in 1830, the Mt. Pleasant church entered the new Methodist Protestant Church as a body. Dr. McMasters was the father of Mrs. Anna E. Withrow, for whom Anne E. Dickinson was named, her mother, Mary Edmondson, having been a teacher in Mt. Pleasant. Mrs. Withrow heard the first minister of the Mt. Pleasant Presbyterian Church preach, and participated in the celebration of its centennial in 1898. Her grandfather, Merrick Starr, was a cooper, and made barrels on the site of the village in 1809.

A bank was established in 1816, with Joseph Gill as President and Lewis Walker, Cashier. In 1841, as has been mentioned (pp. 238-239), John W. Gill and Thomas White established a silk factory. There was a paper-mill in Mt. Pleasant as early as 1816, at which paper fine enough for bank notes was manufactured.

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ning gears were got up, but the body was a wreck, and was left there, in which situation we children made many imaginary trips in it between Richmond and Staunton.

"At the foot of our hill was a saw mill and flouring mill. But the charm of the region was the old mill, a short distance above the others. My sister Anne, as next in age to me, was frequently my companion in my adventures over these odd places, and the hills and valleys through which the cattle would stray, and it is wonderful what strolls we would have, and how we clambered over rocks and through thickets. In one of these fields was a large patch of thyme growing, that had spread from an old garden. In summer, being long in bloom, it was very pretty, and with its flowers and fine odor, it remains a picture to me yet. I often go back to Castner's old mill, on a little bunch of thyme, and never see any without going there.

"Among the features and country and place where we lived snakes were prominent. Rattlesnakes had pretty well disappeared, but blacksnakes, a kind of small anaconda, were plenty, and in the streams were water snakes beyond count—a terror to boys, who would not bathe in them unless it was very warm, when snakes were risked, as they would have been if they had been alligators. But the copperheads were the really dangerous serpents of that time and locality." — William C. Howell's Recollections.

[13a] The father of Edwin M. Stanton, while on his way to visit a patient in the country, was murdered by an unknown assassin.

Ellwood Ratcliff, son of Isaac, was an early wagon manufacturer at Trenton. He sold a wagon to William Hasting for $18, receiving $12 in beef and $6 in money, no one piece of which represented a greater amount than six and one-fourth cents. Ratcliff manufactured hames which he split out of tree-stumps, and hauling them to Steubenville exchanged them for wagon iron, money then not being a factor of exchange.

Near Mt. Pleasant, at the foot of Hoge's Hill, was established the Short Creek (Mt. Pleasant) Presbyterian Church, in 1798, the third church of this denomination in the state. [See page 259; other Mt. Pleasant religious history pp. 259, 262-268.]

What is now the thriving town of Dillonville, was at a very early period known as Annadelphia, where a paper-mill and two grist mills were in operation.

June 4, 1806, Short Creek Township was again divided, one division retaining the name of Short Creek and the other Cadiz (both now in Harrison County). The election in the first township in the new division was called for the house of William Thorne, in Thornville (laid out in 1803), and for the other at the house of Jacob Arnold, in the town of Cadiz.

The movement of the Pathfinders at that period was up the fertile Short Creek Valley, and a road leading from opposite Charles Town to Cadiz was very early constructed. There were numerous settlers, not only in the valley, but over the divide at Cadiz and on the headwaters of Stillwater. As evidence of the large early population along Short Creek and its branches, it is only necessary to note that two Presbyterian churches were organized about 1802, one (Crabapple) near what is now New Athens, and the other (Beech Springs) near what is now Unionvale, the latter by two missionaries, Rev'ds. Messrs. Patterson and Maundry. Rev. Joseph Anderson was the first minister of these churches. In 1804 Dr. John Rea,[14] grandfather

[14] The field covered by these two societies, [Crabapple and Beech Springs] at the time of our settlement, was very extensive and the labor proportionately great. Crabapple claimed as having within her bounds the whole extent of country between the south fork of Short creek and the farthermost part of Nottingham. Beech Springs was equally, if not

of Mrs. Alfred Day of Steubenville, became the pastor, serving Beech Springs for more than half a century. The joint call was signed by John Miller, S. Dunlap, W. Watt, Henry Ferguson, Jesse Edgington, Daniel Welch and William Harvey. The first elders of Crabapple were: Robert McCullough, William McCullough and David Merrit. Robert McCullough represented Crabapple in Presbytery (Ohio) in 1801. The first elders of Beech Springs were: James Kerr, Sr., John McCullough, Dr. Thomas Vincent.

Among the first settlers[15] (1801) the names being gathered by Hon C. A. Hanna of Chicago, were the following: James

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still more extensive, including the entire region of country from the Piney Fork and the Flats, on west to Stillwater. All passed under the name of Beech Springs. All was Jefferson county and Steubenville was the Seat of Justice. Over all this extensive field claimed by both churches we had to travel. Wherever one was found, or whenever we heard of one in our connection, him we must visit; day and night, summer and winter — all seasons of the year; without a road in most places save the mark of an ax on the bark of a tree, or the trail of an early Indian. No man that now comes in among us at this distant day, and highly improved state of the country, can as much as conjecture the labor and fatigue of the pioneers in the primeval forests of Ohio, out of which the savage had just begun to recede, but continued still in large encampments in some places, near the skirtings of the little societies, where the few came together to worship under the shade of a green tree. The two churches under our care lay nearly twelve miles apart. Many Sabbath mornings in the dead of winter, I had to travel ten miles to the place of meeting in Crabapple, having no road but a cowpath, and the underwood bent with snow over me all the way. Worn down by fatigue, and frequently in ill-health, I was more than once brought near the confines of the grave. In all this region there were but two clerical brethren that could afford me any assistance, where there are now two Presbyteries and well nigh thirty preachers. — Extract from sermon delivered at Beech Springs church by Dr. John Rea, January, 1851, after a half century of labor in this field.

[15] Of these [the settlers] it is known that the McFaddens, Craigs, Jamisons, Gilmores, Hannas, Reas, Welches, Moores, and Lyons came from Washington county, Pa.; the Arnolds, Dunlaps, Dickersons and Maholms from Fayette county; and many of the others were from the same districts. The probability is that many of these settlers were

Arnold, Arthur Barrett, James Black, Robert Braden, George Brown, George Carnahan, John Carnahan, Samuel Carnahan, Joseph Clark, Robert Cochran, John Craig, Thomas Dickerson, Samuel Dunlap, James Finney, Samuel Gilmore, Eleazer Huff, Joseph Huff (in the valley in 1784), William Huff, James Hanna, James Haverfield, Thomas Hitchcock, Joseph Holmes, William Ingles, John Jamison, Joel Johnson, Joseph Johnson, William Johnson, Absalom Kent, George Layport, John Love, John Lyons, William McClary, John McConnell, Robert McCullough, William McCullough, John McFadden, Joseph McFadden, Samuel McFadden, John Maholm, Samuel Maholm, Robert Maxwell, Thomas Maxwell, William Osborne, Baldwin Parsons, John Pugh, Rev. John Rea, John Ross, Jacob Shepler, Samuel Smith, Martin Snyder, John Taggart, Thomas Taylor, Hugh Teas, Robert Vincent, Thomas Vincent, John Wallace, Michael Waxler, Daniel Welch, James Wilkin, Thomas Wilson.

Dr. Rea was born in Tully, Ireland, in 1772, the son of Joseph and Isabel Rea. He came to America in 1790, residing in Philadelphia for a short time. He came West to Washington County, Pa., making the entire distance on foot and without a companion. Here, in 1793, he was married to Elizabeth Christy. A few years after, having been encouraged by James Dinsmore, he entered Jefferson College, graduating in 1802. His biographer, Rev. W. F. Hamilton, says: "Dr. Rea was in an eminent sense a pioneer minister. His early labors were largely evangelistic. Several churches now exist on territory once wholly occupied by him. It may be safely said that no man exerted a greater influence than did he in form-

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in Harrison [Jefferson] county before 1800. . . . We know that Alexander Henderson "squatted" on the land near Cadiz, now known as the Walter Jamison farm [on a branch of Short Creek] as early as April, 1799, having removed from Washington county with his family about that time; and that Daniel Peterson then resided with his family at the forks of Short creek — Hon. Charles A. Hanna, "The First White Settlers of Harrison County."

ing the religious character of the early inhabitants of a large section of Eastern Ohio.

The six early Presbyterian Churches in the region from Newels Town (St. Clairsville) to Cadiz, including Richland, (St. Clairsville) McMahon's Creek, Short Creek (Mt. Pleasant,) Crabapple and Beech Springs, gave unmistakable evidence to the ethnologist of the strength of character of the pioneers of the southern part of Jefferson County; and if the ethnologist make further inquiry he will accept as true the statement that the fathers of the sturdy men who came to this wilderness to erect homes, were pioneers of Pennsylvania[16] and were soldiers on the side of liberty in the Revolutionary War. Another fact is evident to those who hunt out musty records to preserve the truth of history: The Presbyterian Church kept no records. The Presbyterians are individualists, and thus being the antipode of socialists, the church was not a civil community organized to relieve the individual of responsibility. The head of a family was expected to keep the records thereof — to note in his family Bible the marriages, births and deaths of his family. This is the reason more names of early settlers in this region cannot now be obtained for preservation in enduring print.

The first elders of the Short Creek (Mt. Pleasant) Church were: Richard McKibben, Thomas McCune,[17] (the latter a sol-

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[16] Many of the names of actors in the various dramas set forth [in The Pathfinders of Jefferson County] are familiar in this locality, and Old Paxton [Paxtang] Church Yard is full of them. — Extract from a letter from Hon. W. F. Rutherford, Historian of Paxton (Paxtang, Pa.) Church.

[17] I learn that Col. Thomas McCune came from near Philadelphia, and his mother's name was Rotherham. The Rotherhams were called fighting Quakers because they fought for their country in the Revolution. They were expelled from the Friends' Society for this offense; but after this expulsion they formed another organization called "The Fighting Quaker Church." Col. McCune could trace his ancestry back to the time of the persecution in Scotland. His family name was then spelled "McEuen." One of the McEuens wrote a book on Religious Liberty, and on account of it the family was persecuted; some members were burned at the stake and others fled to the north of Ireland, where the

dier of the Revolutionary War, although his mother's people were Quakers, which sect as a rule, opposed the war for various reasons) James Eagleson and James Clark (1798); Thomas Major and Adam Dunlap (1808); John Alexander and Jacob Tull (1829); David Baldridge, John Theaker and John Major (1832). Of those who served as precentors the names of the following have been preserved: John Alexander, Joseph Kithcart, Cunningham Kithcart, Archibald Major, Amos Jones and William McGee.

Rev. Dr. Bejamin Mitchell was the second pastor of the Mt. Pleasant Church, succeeding Rev. Joseph Anderson in 1829, the year the foundation of a church building was laid in the village. He, too, was one of the physically rugged pioneer preachers, and related that he was compelled to eke out the stipend called a salary, by labor with his ax, six days of the week; and he preached three and four times each Sunday. He served this church more than fifty years, and the church had but two pastors in eighty years! He was born at York, Pa., and his father, Joseph Mitchell, was a Major in the Revolutionary War.

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name was changed to McCune. The McCunes came to America early in its history. Thomas served well in the Revolutionary war, reaching the rank of Colonel. He helped guard the Hessians after their surrender, and often told of their endeavor to keep fire, their only fires being of cedar fence-rails which they had to carry a mile. Col. McCune was a strict observer of the Sabbath. All the shoes of the family were put in order on Saturday, and he attended to this duty himself. The coffee to be used on the Sabbath was ground the previous evening. On one occasion a minister unexpectedly came in upon them on Sabbath and there was not enough coffee ground. Here was a dilemma, but it was met by Mrs. McCune taking the mill to the orchard. On another Sabbath a large flock of wild turkeys came near the house. "Thomas, can't you kill one with a stick?" "Not to-day, Mary." "Well, if you won't, I will," she replied, and seizing a stick, she succeeded in killing a fine large one, which Thomas gallantly carried home; but his wife could never distinguish between the sins. Col. McCune lived and died on the farm now owned by John Weatherston, while Adam Dunlap tilled the adjoining farm now owned by Mrs. [Sarah] Jenkins, [who is a daughter of Nathan and Ann Updegraph.] — T. M. McConahey, at celebration of the centennial of the Mt. Pleasant Presbyterian church, August 31, 1898.

The Presbytery of Ohio, with which Jefferson County history is linked, and particularly that part of which we now write, was formed out of Redstone in 1793,[18] and extended to the Scioto River. On October 11, 1819, the Synod of Pittsburg resolved that "so much of the Presbytery of Ohio as lies northwest of the Ohio River including the Rev'ds. Lyman Potter, Joseph Anderson, James Snodgrass, Abraham Scott, John Rea, Thomas Hunt, Thomas B. Clark and Obediah Jennings, with their respective charges, should be formed into a separate Presbytery, to be known as the Presbytery of Steubenville." The boundaries then fixed were: Beginning at the mouth of Big Yellow Creek, thence by direct line in northwest course to intersection of the west line of the Seventh Range with the south line of the Western Reserve; thence south along said west line to the Ohio River and up the river to the place of beginning. The Presbytery included the churches of Richland (1798), Short Creek (1798), Steubenville (1800), Island Creek (1800), Crabapple (1801), Beech Springs (about 1802), Cedar Lick (Two Ridges, (1802), Richmond (Bacon Ridge, 1804), Tent (Center, 1803), Cadiz (about 1817), Nottingham (about 1816), McMahon's Creek (Belmont County, perhaps in 1806). The first meeting of Steubenville Presbytery was held October 19, 1819, Joseph Anderson, Moderator, and Lyman Potter delivered the sermon. All the ministers were present, together with Robert Brown, David Hoge, Stephen Coe, James McLean, elders. At its organization Steubenville Presbytery contained twelve churches, eight ministers and nine hundred members. St.

[18] The first Protestant sermon delivered west of the Alleghenies was by a Presbyterian minister, Rev. Dr. Beatty, the occasion being a thanksgiving celebration the Sunday following the occupation of Fort Duquesne by Forbes, Saturday evening, November 25, 1758, Dr. C. Beatty being the Chaplain of Forbes' forces. — From Notes and Queries, edited by Dr. W. H. Egle, and published annually by Hon. M. W. McAlarney, editor of The Harrisburg Telegraph.

Dr. C. Beatty was the father of Major Erkuris Beatty, and therefore the grandfather of Dr. C. C. Beatty, the founder of the Steubenville Seminary. The grandfather was a pupil of the Old Log College, and the grandson was a graduate of Princeton.

Clairsville Presbytery was formed from a portion of this territory, at Mt. Pleasant, October 3, 1838.

While churches were not established at Nottingham and Cadiz until ten years later, Dr. Rea preached to the Presbyterian settlers of these communities as early as 1806. At Nottingham services were held up to 1821, in a tent erected (1808) by Abraham Brokaw, Robert Baxter, John Glenn and Adam Dunlap. Rev. Thomas B. Clark was ordained in 1811, and in 1821 a log church was built on the tent site by Abraham Brokaw, Archibald Todd, Adam Dunlap, Samuel Laferty, Thomas Morrow.

Nottingham Church[19] was near the road or trail (1802) leading to the West, through Steubenville and what is now

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Dr. C. Beatty was a Chaplain of the English Provincial forces in 1756, and at Fort Allen he complained that the troops neglected the daily religious services held by him. It was then suggested that if the grog ration be distributed just after the sermon, the attendance would be increased. The chaplain agreed to the proposition and thereafter he made no complaint of small attendance. He was at the bloody battle of Bushy Run. September 21, 1766, with Dr. Duffield, he made a trip to the Tuscarawas valley and there preached to the Indians. — From the Beatty Family Record. The statement made (p. 254) that Rev. David Jones was the first person to preach the Gospel in the Ohio river country, (1772) has reference to that part of the river country on which Jefferson county bordered.

[19] In the call that was made out in 1805 by the church of Crabapple and vicinity for the labors of John Rea the one-half of his time, the representatives of Nottingham interest signed said call with the express understanding that a part of the pastor's services would be employed in this [Nottingham] region if desired. Fifty pounds per annum was the sum specified in the call, one-half in cash and one-half in produce; the latter to be delivered at a certain flouring mill near the mouth of Big Short Creek. In keeping with these conditions the supplies of grain increased rapidly, at such prices at 20 to 25 cents a bushel for wheat, and 12 to 25 cents for corn and rye. It soon became necessary for the minister to have his large stock of produce manufactured and put into the market, that he might procure funds wherewith to replenish his library, and supply the wants of his household. When a sufficient number of barrels and lading were ready to fill a flatboat, a man of approved character and ability was employed to take oversight of the cargo, and ship it down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to some Southern

Cadiz, and on this road, near Nottingham,[20] William Ingles, in this year, built the first public house in Harrison County, unless Jacob Arnold's tavern on the site of Cadiz was previously built, which is questioned. It was near here Captain William Boggs and a party of scouts from Fort Henry were surprised in camp by Indians, in 1793, and Captain Boggs killed.

As has been mentioned, the Short Creek (Mt. Pleasant) Church, was first in the valley, near the waters of Short Creek, having been removed to the village at about the beginning of the pastorate of Dr. Mitchell. According to a sketch contributed to the centennial history by Rev. D. L. Dickey and L. C. Reed, the spot on which Short Creek Church was organized, is still pointed out; the farm then belonged to John Mitchell, now (1898) to Robert Finney. Two persons, at least,

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port, make sale, and bring back [on foot] the returns, which, after paying expenses, were quite small. — Dr. T. R. Crawford, in "Forty Years Pastorate and Reminiscences."

[20] The first settlements made in this vicinity [Nottingham] were made from 1798 to 1803. Abraham Brokaw, John Glenn, William Ingles, George Laport, Thomas Wilson, Arthur Barrett, — — Jones, — — Moffit. These were but the advance of a great mass of people that in a few years scattered over a large tract of country, so, as by magic, the Northwest territory was settled, and signs of civilization were evident, by subdued forests, newly erected dwellings, followed by the school house and the church building. . . . When peace was ratified with the Indians, and Ohio admitted into the Union, the tide of immigration began to flow strongly in this direction. In 1802, the great western thoroughfare passed not more than three quarters of a mile from [the site of] Nottingham church, which was the route from Pittsburg by way of Steubenville, and from Central Pennsylvania, by way of Charles Town, forming a junction in this [Jefferson] county, which induced the location of Cadiz [1804]; then running west nine or ten miles, forked on the lands of William Ingles. The right branch of this road passed through the "White Eye" plains, and on to the Sandusky region; the left branch running by way of Zanesville into the Scioto and Miami valleys. Howe, in his Historical Collections of Ohio, says, "that previous to the construction of the National road through Ohio, this road was perhaps traveled more than any other route in Ohio." — Forty Years Pastorate and Reminiscences by Rev. Dr. T. R. Crawford, pastor of the Nottingham Church.

were buried in the first church yard. According to the same authority, there was also a church tent (a covered stand for the minister and leader of the choir) on the Maxwell place, about four miles east of Mt. Pleasant, now (1898) owned by Smith Haythorn. The first house of worship, a rude log structure, without fire place or stove, was built at the foot of Hoge's hill, and Tradition says Henry West, Hugh McConahey and William Pickens built the pulpit, which was afterward removed to the church built in the village. "At this house the people worshiped for twenty years. Nothing marks the spot now [1898] but a few half-hidden tombstones that mutely appeal for remembrance for over a hundred buried dead."

Joseph Anderson, who, in his time, served Richland, Mt. Pleasant, Crabapple and Beech Springs, and, no doubt, preached at other points in the county previous to the coming of Drs. Rea and Snodgrass, came to Ohio from Pennsylvania in 1798, and left the valley for Missouri in 1830, dying, according Mr. T. M. McConahey, at Monticello on the forty-seventh anniversary of his installation, August 20, 1847. His first wife was a daughter of Rev. Joseph Smith who preserved many historical data in "Old Redstone," published many years ago.

Dr. Rea was pastor (as supply) of the Cadiz Church until October 17, 1822, when Rev. Donald MacIntosh was called. Rev. MacIntosh was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, and was educated at Jefferson College, Canonsburgh, Pa. He served the Cadiz Church until 1826, when Rev. John McArthur was installed pastor of the Ridge and Cadiz Churches, serving eleven years. McArthur's successor in the pastorate of the Cadiz Church was Rev. Dr. James Kerr, who was the most scholarly of all the ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Ohio, pioneer or modern. He was born in Wigton, Scotland, December, 1802, and was graduated by the University of Glasgow at the age of twenty-seven. He came to America in 1832, and began missionary work in Virginia under license of the Presbytery of Baltimore. In 1838 he was called to the Cadiz Church where his labors were finished April 19, 1855. His great intel-

lect had vent not only in the pulpit—he was the author of at least two theological works of force. In speaking of Dr. Kerr, Dr. T. R. Crawford, a contemporary, and for forty years pastor of the Nottingham Church, said: "Dr. Kerr was a true specimen of a learned, earnest, unwavering Scotch minister. He was a man of positive character and convictions, forcible in argument, concise in his words, and scholarly in research, affecting no oratorical flights and fancy pictures, and his appeals were directly to the understanding and to the heart. He was remarkably consistent in every sphere of life—citizen or minister." A son, James W. Kerr, is an elder of the church so long served by the father, and a daughter who inherits her father's intellectual powers, is the wife of Rev. Dr. Cyrus J. Hunter, of the Uhrichsville Presbyterian Church. Rev. Dr. William M. Grimes, who succeeded Dr. Kerr, was not a Pathfinder, but no minister was beloved to a fuller degree of warmth by the grandchildren of the Pathfinders than was this sweet soul, whose earthly labors closed November 23, 1886.

The first elders of this church were Matthew McCoy, John Hanna and William Ramsey (great grandfather of A. J. Hammond of Cadiz.)

The Associate Reformed Church mission at Cadiz was one of the first west of the Ohio River, there being preaching at this station as early as 1810, and in November, 1813, Rev. William Taggart was installed pastor, one-half his time in Cadiz and one-half time at Uniontown, Belmont County, and received the munificent salary of $180 for each charge. He served these churches for a quarter of a century. The first elders were: Robert Orr and Joseph McFadden.

The Associate Congregation of Cadiz was organized in 1813, and Rev. John Walker was installed, in 1814, pastor of Cadiz, Unity (Belmont County) and Mt. Pleasant. The first elders of the Associate Congregation of Cadiz were: Thomas Maxwell, William Braden and Joseph Braden, installed in 1814.

Rev. Walker laid out the town of New Athens where he opened a classical school, and finally procured a charter for

Franklin College, one of the first colleges west of the river. He was prominent as a conductor of the Underground Railroad, and his strong anti-slavery sentiment expressed in pulpit and in the hall almost disrupted the college.

The adherents of other churches were also early in the Short Creek Valley as well as in other parts of Jefferson County, for the Pathfinders were not ungodly. The first preaching by a Methodist Episcopal minister in the Northwest Territory was at the mouth of the creek. Here, in 1781, John Carpenter built what has always been known as Carpenter's Fort and should not be confounded with the Carpenter's Blockhouse, built in 1785, by George Carpenter, two miles up the river, and near the mouth of Rush Run. At Carpenter's Fort, in 1787, Rev. George Callahan, circuit rider of the Virginia District, preached to the squatters; and Gen. Butler, who drove the squatters off the land, noted in his journal (1785) that "the people of this country [Short Creek] appear to be much imposed upon by a sect called Methodist and are become great fanatics."

If religious opportunities indicate the character of the people of a community, certainly the first settlers of this county were not lacking in this evidence of intellectual development. Very shortly after the organization of the Short Creek Presbyterian Church, and the same year the Concord Friends' Meeting was organized in Colerain (1800), Jacob Holmes[21] and his

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[21] The following valuable information about Jacob Holmes is from a letter from a grandson to The Steubenville Gazette:

In Vol. VI. of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society publications I read an article written by W. H. Hunter, entitled The Pathfinders of Jefferson County. As my parents were raised in that county, permit me to correct several errors. On page 163 mention is made of "Jacob Holmes who was early in this county," etc.

Jacob Holmes was my grandfather, and my information is derived from Jacob Holmes himself, from his wife and from my mother. The matter to which I refer is in an old manuscript by Eli McFeely in which he details his first meeting and introduction to Jacob Holmes, giving the date of this meeting as about the middle of July, 1838, and the place "the summit of McDowell's hill." When introduced by his friend "S. B.," he saw in Jacob Holmes "an aged but erect man" who proceeded to give

neighbors built a Methodist Episcopal Church up the Short Creek Valley (about fourteen miles from the mouth of the creek) on lands given him for services as an Indian scout. The date of this building has been disputed in recent years; but the basis of the claim that the Holmes church was one of the very first Methodist Episcopal Churches erected in the Northwest Territory still obtains. Jacob Holmes (a Welshman,) was fervent in

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an account of his early life in the western country, including the date and place of his birth, etc. Now, in July, 1838, Jacob Holmes was living in Highland county, Ohio, some six miles north of Hillsborough. He was then nearly seventy years of age, but had the appearance of being much older. Instead of being an erect man, he was much stooped, was in declining health and could not have "ascended to the summit of McDowell's hill by the sinuous path," even if he had been in Jefferson county at that time. So I concluded that Mr. McFeely wrote the interview some time after the meeting took place and was mistaken in the date. He is also wrong as to the birthplace of Jacob Holmes as well as to John Huff being killed by the Indians with Dan McIntyre, and David Cox and others in the ginseng party. John Huff, my grandmother's brother, married Sallie Johnson, a sister of John and Henry Johnson, who were captured by the Indians, killed their captors and returned home. John Huff settled at Columbia on the Ohio river, a few miles above Cincinnati, at about the close of the last century, and lived to be an aged man, dying there something over fifty years ago. Besides his sister (my grandmother) he had a brother, Eleazar Huff, and a son in the vicinity of my father's farm in Highland county, and he frequently visited his relatives there. He was a tall, stoutly built man, having the reputation of being a perfect athlete in his younger days.

Jacob Holmes was born December 8, 1768, in Rockingham county, Va. While Jacob was a small boy his father moved to Bedford county, Pa., and a few years later to Washington county, Pa., near Catfish, now Washington; then a few years later to what is now Brooke county, W. Va., and settled on Buffalo creek, not far from the Ohio river. Here our subject grew to manhood, and in 1791 was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Michael and Hannah Doddridge Huff. Shortly after his marriage he was employed by the United States Government as an Indian scout, and in company with his brother-in-law, Kinsey Dickerson and a man named Washburn, was thus employed for three years. For his services he received a tract of land on Short creek, a few miles north of where Mt. Pleasant now stands. To this place he moved his family in the spring of 1796, my mother being but six weeks old. He resided

his devotion to the polity of the Methodist Church; he settled on Short Creek in 1796, and gathered about him men of like religious views, and it is natural for those who have studied the character of the Pathfinders to recognize the adage, that "Where there is a will there is a way," and believe that Holmes and his neighbors built a place of worship within four years after the settlement was made.

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on this farm some twenty-five years when he sold to a man named Comley and removed to the northern part of Harrison county. The farm on which he then located is now in Carroll county. He resided here until 1832, when he again sold out and removed to Fairfield township, Highland county. In the summer of 1838 he again sold out and bought a farm one mile north of Kenton, Hardin county, to which he moved in the spring of 1839, and there he died October 14, 1841.

On October 30, 1840, he requested all of his children to meet at his home in a family reunion and take dinner with him. This was on the Presidential election day for Ohio, at the close of the noted Tippecanoe campaign. The children all met except Mrs. Augustine Bickerstaff of Steubenville, her health not permitting. My mother made the trip on horseback from Highland county, Ohio, a distance of one hundred miles. Her sister, Mrs. Nathaniel Moore, who resided near Little York (Updegraph postoffice) in Jefferson county, also came on horseback. He and his wife and children (one excepted) all ate dinner at the same table on that day, and after the meal was over he preached to them and offered a fervent prayer for their temporal and eternal welfare. He and his wife are buried in the Grove cemetery at Kenton, and this is the inscription on his tombstone: Jacob Holmes, died October 14th, 1841, aged 72 years, 10 months and 6 days. On the tombstone of his wife: Elizabeth Holmes, died January 27, 1857, aged 84 years, 8 months and 5 days.

The Holmes and Huff families all settled in Jefferson, Harrison and Tuscarawas counties in the early opening of the eastern part of the state. In Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio (the old edition) in his account of Harrison county, several of the Huffs are mentioned. In his account of Guernsey county, my grandmother's brother, John Huff, is mentioned; so he was not killed with the ginseng party on Cross creek.

Ambrose W. Moore, who was your Sheriff some thirty years ago, is a grandson of Jacob Holmes. There was a large family of his brothers and sisters who some years ago nearly all lived in Jefferson county. His father and mother both died in Smithfield where they had removed a few years before their decease. — Curtis Wilkin, Kenton, O., March 6, 1899.

The Dickerson Methodist Episcopal Church[22] (a few miles southeast of Cadiz, and in this same valley) was organized in 1802, when Thomas Dickerson came to the land on which the present [1899] church stands, and began to hold prayer-meetings. In 1804 a class was organized and Dickerson was made leader.

There was great activity by the Methodists in all this region even before the beginning of the century. In 1794-5, the circuit in which this part of Jefferson County was included, embraced Washington County, Pa., Ohio and Virginia, both sides of the river, from Pittsburg to Marietta. In this year Charles Conoway was the presiding Elder and Samuel Hitt and Thomas Haymond were ministers. Hitt had means of support,

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In answer to further inquiries, Mr. Wilkin writes:

It is possible but not at all probable, that Jacob Holmes returned to Jefferson county after leaving Highland for Hardin county, in 1838. At that time he was a broken-down man, suffering from asthma. He made the trip on his saddle-horse Old Lion, which he continued to ride until a few months before his death. If this circumstance mentioned by Mr. McFeely ever took place (and I presume it did) Mr. McFeely is mistaken in regard to date.

Joseph Huff [the Indian fighter, who settled on Short creek as early as 1784] was the brother of my grandmother, the wife of Jacob Holmes. My grandfather, Michael Huff, had the following sons: Michael, who was killed by the Indians on the Mississippi river, in the early settlement of Illinois; Joseph, who I think died in Harrison county many years ago, not far from where his father settled in Jefferson (now Harrison) and near Georgetown; William, who died near the same place; John, who died at Columbia, a short distance above Cincinnati, about 1842; Samuel, who died in Highland county, about 1846; Eleazar, who died in Highland county in 1833. The old Huff Bible that contains the record of all the Huff family, is now in possession of David C. Holmes of Kenton, a grandson of Jacob Holmes.

[22] The history of the Dickerson church commences at the beginning of the century. As early as March, 1801, Joseph Holmes [grandfather of Major J. T. Holmes of Columbus] moved to the farm on which he lived and died, [then in Jefferson county, now on the ridge dividing two forks of Short creek, near the point where Athens, Cadiz and Short Creek townships join.] Soon after the following settlers came into the settlement: Joseph Huff, William Walraven, Thomas Dickerson, Eli Dicker-

but the two other ministers received each £24 (Pennsylvania money). In 1796, Valentine Cook was the Presiding Elder, and Andrew Nichols, John Seward, Shadrack Johnson and Jonathan Bateman were the ministers. In 1797, Daniel Hitt was Presiding Elder, and N. B. Mills and Jacob Colbert, ministers. In 1797, N. B. Mills and Solomon Harris were the ministers with 427 members. In 1799, Thomas Haymond and Jesse Stoneman rode the circuit. In June Haywood died, aged thirty-five years. A decrease of 106 members was reported this year, but the following being a year of revivals, the membership increased to 521. During this year Joseph Rowen and John Cullison were the ministers. In 1801, the immense district was divided, the part embracing Jefferson County, being named Pittsburg District; Thornton Fleming as Elder and Benjamin Essex and Joseph Hall, ministers. The Ohio Circuit was disbanded and the West Wheeling Circuit formed of territory including Jefferson County. In 1802 Joseph Hall; 1803 John Cullison; 1804 Lashley Mathews, were the ministers. Mathews

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son, William Scoles, James and Thomas Worley, Abraham Holmes and William Welling. In 1802 Thomas Dickerson settled on the farm on which the Dickerson church was located. . . . During the same fall he organized a prayer-meeting circle which held weekly meetings. . . . This was the first organized religious society in the county of Harrison, as now composed. In 1804 a society of Methodists was organized with Thomas Dickerson as class-leader. . . . The first quarterly meeting was held on the farm of Joseph Holmes, in the summer of 1805. This meeting was conducted by Rev. Asa Shinn. Methodists from beyond and about Wellsburg, on the Ohio and from the Holmes church [built in 1800,] on Short creek, came to the meeting. . . . . The meeting was held in the grove; the seats were made of rails, logs and puncheons. In two trees standing about six feet apart a notch was cut in each tree, and in those notches was placed a puncheon sixteen inches wide, and on this the preacher laid the Bible. . . . The organization of the Dickerson church is clearly traceable to the labors of Bishop Asbury and Bishop McKendry, from the fact that the first members came from Virginia and Pennsylvania. . . . By a revival here in 1829, under Thomas M. Hudson, this minister received into the Cadiz church many interesting young men, five of whom became ministers; Bishop Simpson was one of them. — Address of Joseph Holmes at Dedication of Dickerson church, October 7, 1888.

was a soldier of the Revolutionary War. By will he left his horse and saddle, all he had of this world's goods, to be sold and the proceeds to be used for the benefit of the church. In 1805, James Hunter was the Presiding Elder, and John West and Eli Towne, Ministers. In 1806, Thornton Fleming was Presiding Elder with David Stevens and Abraham Daniels as ministers. In this year a "preaching place was found at the home of John Permar [in Steubenville] where many were converted." In 1807, William Knox, James Reiley and J. G. Watt; 1808, Robert R. Roberts and Benedict Burgess; 1809, James Quinn, Joseph Young and Thomas Church. Young left this record: "I found my circuit included the whole of Jefferson and Belmont Counties. At St. Clairsville we preached in the old log Court House (upstairs)." During this year Obediah Jennings, a very prominent citizen of Steubenville, was a constant attendant at the Methodist meetings, was converted, and afterwards became a noted Presbyterian minister. He moved to Virginia where his daughter became the wife of Gov. Henry A. Wise and she was the mother of O. Jennings Wise, who was a prominent Confederate officer. In 1810, a society was organized in Steubenville by William Lamden, the place of meeting being the home of Bernard Lucas. Those at the organization were: Bernard Lucas, Margaret Lucas, Matthew Worstel, Rachel Worstel, William Fisher, Margaret Cummings, Archibald Cole, Elizabeth Cole, Nicholas Murray, Mary Murray, Hugh Dunn, John Dougherty. In 1811, William Lamden and Michael Ellis were the ministers. This was a year of revivals in Steubenville, and the Methodists became strong enough to begin the erection of a place of worship (50x75 feet) on a lot donated by Bezaleel Wells, on the southeast corner of Fourth and South streets. In 1812, the Ohio District was formed, with Jacob Young as Presiding Elder, and Michael Ellis and John McMahon, ministers. This year the Ohio Conference was formed. At the first session (October 1) Abel Robinson and William Knox were appointed ministers of this district. In 1813, the Ohio Conference was held in Steubenville, the Meth-

odist Episcopal Church having greatly increased in numbers in this vicinity. Bishops Asbury and McKendrie graced the ministerial assembly by their presence. In 1815, J. B. Finley, the giant of Methodism, a former Presbyterian, a former intrepid Indian fighter, a college-bred man, learned, eloquent, enthusiastic, was appointed minister of the Steubenville Circuit with J. Powell as assistant. Under Finley's administration most of the Methodist Societies in the county were organized. According to Finley's autobiography, the year 1815 was noted for religious controversy, when Armenianism and Calvinism "grappled in strong, if not loving, embrace."

Among the first settlers of Cadiz, which was laid out in 1803, were: Jacob Arnold, tavern keeper; James Simpson, Manufacturer of reeds for hand spinning-wheels (the father of Bishop Simpson); William Tingley, school teacher (brother of Bishop Simpson's mother); William Arnold, powder manufacturer; Thomas Hogg (brother of John), merchant; Andrew McNeely (father of Cyrus McNeely, founder of the Hopedale College), hatter and Justice of the Peace; John Harris, merchant; John Jamison (the founder of the noted Jamison family in Harrison County), tanner; John McCrea, wheel-wright; Robert Wilkin, brickmaker; Connell Abdill, shoemaker; Jacob Myers, carpenter; John Pritchard, blacksmith (father of Mrs. Chauncey Dewey); Nathan Adams, tailor.

Here Bishop Matthew Simpson was born June 20, 1811, the son of James and Sarah (Tingley) Simpson, the father coming from Northern Ireland in 1793 to Huntington County, Pa., and afterward to Western Pennsylvania, and then to Cadiz. He had four brothers, Andrew, John, William, Matthew, and a sister Mary. The mother, born in New Jersey, was a daughter of Jeremiah Tingley, who came to Ohio and settled near the mouth of Short Creek in 1801,[23] the daughter being about

[23] My mother, Sarah Tingley, was born in New Jersey, some twenty miles from South Amboy, but in her youth was taken to the neighborhood of Amboy. Her father's name was Jeremiah Tingley. During the War of the Revolution he was drafted and served a term in the army; and then as the war continued he enlisted for an additional term, and

twenty years of age. Here James Simpson and Sarah Tingley were married and shortly thereafter made their home in Cadiz, although there is belief about Hopewell Church that Bishop Simpson was born on Warren Ridge. Bishop Simpson stated during his life, on the occasion of receiving a cane made of a portion of one of the logs used in the construction of the Holmes Church, that his mother attended services in the hallowed sanctuary in her early womanhood. Her father and mother were buried in Hopewell grave-yard.

Matthew Simpson's father died when the son was but two years of age. Matthew, the uncle, took charge of the boy and gave him a thorough education, and no one ever lived was a more apt pupil. He could read and spell at the age of three years, and before he was fifteen he had not only mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew and German languages, but thoroughly learned the printing trade, wrote poetry, spent much time in the Court House listening to the arguments of the giants of the early Bar, and drinking deeply from this fountain; not only all this—he attended Dr. John McBean's classical academy and as well learned something of the reed-maker's trade in his Uncle Matthew's shop. He never attended Franklin College as many suppose, although his Uncle Matthew was one of the first directors; he was well educated under the tutition of his uncle and

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was present at several battles, but was not actively engaged. At the close of the war he received a soldier's claim for lands in Western Virginia and purposed to move West, but the agent who pretended to locate the land deceived him, and he never recovered it. On the way West, in 1790, he was taken ill at Winchester, Va., and after recovering remained a number of years in that region. He was brought up, as was my mother's mother, a Baptist, but there being no Baptist church near Winchester, she attended Methodist preaching and was awakened and converted. In 1801 the family removed to Ohio, and settled on Short creek, near [now] Hopewell [M. E. church, on Warren Ridge,] where grandfather Tingley died, and where, June 10, 1806, my mother was married. She was the first member of the family who joined the Methodists, but the entire family followed her example. My mother was born May 23, 1781. — Statement made by Bishop Simpson.

Dr. McBean before Franklin was organized. Shortly after attaining the age of fifteen years, he walked near ninety miles to Uniontown, Pa., where he entered Madison College, but was so far advanced that Dr. Elliot, the head-master, frequently left his department in young Simpson's charge. He read medicine under Dr. McBean and received a certificate that entitled him to the privilege, but he did not practice, the direction of his early bent having been changed, and he entered the ministry of the church of his mother. In the reed factory of his Uncle Matthew also worked Curtis Soule, afterwards Bishop, and down the valley about fifteen miles, at Mt. Pleasant, was born Stephen Mason Merrill, also a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The town being at the crossing of two of the most important thoroughfares, it grew rapidly, and the many hotels and the many fine brick buildings erected gave evidence of early prosperity, the beginning of the great wealth that now obtains.

There was manufacturing of all sorts — furniture, shoes, wagons, nails, stoves, leather, flour, guns, powder, fruit, brandies, whisky, crude farm implements. The pork-packing industry was carried on extensively for years by Samuel McFadden, one of the early merchants (grandfather of the compiler), and son, H. S. McFadden (father of H. H. McFadden, of The Steubenville Gazette). The Kilgores (afterwards of Steubenville) were also early manufacturers. William Frey and Joseph R. Hunter (father of the compiler) were furniture manufacturers, the latter shipping large quantities to St. Louis. The senior Matthew Simpson was an inventive genius, inventing among other machines, one to facilitate the production of reeds, with which machine he manufactured a superior reed, resulting in a wide demand. He also invented a loom for weaving stocks, the fashionable neck-wear for gentlemen at that time.

The Short Creek Valley from Cadiz to Mt. Pleasant, and including the region about New Athens and Crabapple Church, just over the divide on the headwaters of Wheeling Creek, was noted for its warmth of abolition sentiment from 1820 down to

close of the "irrepressible conflict"—abolition of slavery pure and simple; the hard-headed, austere Seceders, the followers of Dr. John Walker and other ministers of his kind, would tolerate no compromise, and they looked upon Benjamin Lundy's colonization schemes with almost the same disrespect that they would consider any half-way measure proposed by the pro-slavery advocates. Franklin College, founded by John Walker, was long recognized as the fountain head of the abolition sentiment of Eastern Ohio, and it is but natural that the people first to drink of the stream were powerfully influenced; and further, it was in accordance with the eternal fitness of things that numerous "underground stations," so called because slaves were surreptitiously conveyed along certain routes, kept hid during the day, and hurried during the night season from one station to another, on their way to Canada, should be established in this valley.

Of course there were stations at the mouth of Short Creek, one kept by George Craig and one by William Hogg. One was kept by Joseph Medill (grandfather of W. L. Medill, Esq.), on Warren Ridge, near Hopewell M. E. Church. There were many in Mt. Pleasant, the slaves being kept during daylight in any of the houses in the village, and there is authority for the statement that one good Friend kept a number of strong negroes on his farm from corn-planting until after harvest! The house of Rev. Benjamin Mitchell was a noted station, there being a trap-door in the kitchen floor through which runaway slaves reached a large hole in the ground when slave hunters were searching the premises. The Updegraff house, a mile west of Mt. Pleasant, and that of David Robinson, west of Trenton, were also well known to the slave on his way to liberty. The Bracken house in Mt. Pleasant was so constructed that the negroes could enter an attic by means of a trap-door in the roof after climing a ladder. Benjamin Ladd (the Quaker philanthropist) kept the Smithfield Station. The one at Lloydstown, named for Jesse and Isaac Lloyd, was kept by Eli Nichols; one at Unity kept by Rev. John Walker, the coura-

geous Seceder minister; at Hammonds Cross Roads, by Alexander and John Hammond, John Hammond, Jr., and Joseph Rodgers now (1899) of Cadiz, being conductors between this point and Hopedale; one at the house of James Hanna, near Georgetown; one at the house of Cyrus McNeely (founder of Hopedale College), between Hopedale and Unionvale; one at the house of Judge Thomas Lee, near Cadiz; one at Millers Station by David Ward; one at Richmond by James and William Ladd, and from here the negroes were conducted to the home of Judge Thomas George,[24] on Yellow Creek,

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[24] Judge Thomas George kept the underground railway station on Yellow creek, at Moores Salt Works (now Pravo.) He was the leader among the early Presbyterians; and under the influence of Rev. John Walker, (who was, the compiler believes, the John Walker who founded Franklin college, and of the courageous blood of the Minister–Colonel of Londonderry fame,) he could not have been otherwise than an active abolitionist.

James George (grandson of Judge Thomas George) has kindly given the compiler the following relating to the Yellow creek division of the underground railway:

"Judge Lee was station agent at Cadiz; James Ladd and brother at Richmond; David Ward at Millers Station (then Works Post Office); Dr. A. Lindsay, Salem Metropolis; Thomas George, Moores Salt Works; James and William Farmer, Salineville; —— Horton, Salem. There was another line through from Cadiz by way of Scroggsfield and Mechanicstown [Carroll county,] Dr. Lindsay having removed from Annapolis [was Salem, in Jefferson county,] to one of these places, but cannot give particulars.

"We were located about half way on the line from Cadiz and Mt. Pleasant to Salineville. Henry Crabbs kept a station on the hill, overlooking the George station in the valley. The Richmond station kept by the Ladds, was on a sidetrack, which was used in emergency.

"The line on which Moores Salt Works was located was in operation from 1827 to 1837, but some of the older citizens say the first date should be earlier. Station agents rarely knew beforehand that fleeing slaves were to arrive, and they were received because conveyed by known friends. In 1830 Old Man Work brought through two slaves, arriving at the house of Judge George a little before daylight. They were secreted in the barn, fed and cared for by George until opportunity gave chance to take them to Salineville. In 1830 the writer has knowledge

and then to Salem, in Columbiana County, from which point the negroes had comparatively safe passage into British possessions.

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of a gang of five males and three females going through. This party was conveyed to George's by the Ladds, kept until night and conveyed to Farmer station at Salineville. In 1834 a gang composed of seven men, two women and a child, was brought to George's station, and hidden in the loft of a brick house occupied by Robert George. They were conducted to Salineville by the conductors, Robert, Thomas and A. W. George.

"A remark which may not be out of place: On the line to Salineville was a small village, on the corner of whose street lived a man antagonistic to abolitionism and was dreaded by the conductors. The night the last mentioned party went through, the village was very dark and the rain poured until after they passed this residence, after which the clouds broke and the night was clear. No doubt a Providential interference. In an old diary I find mention of many fugitives passing through, but no incidents are mentioned. In 1837 a woman was brought to George's from Ladd's and covered with straw in the barn, and was jabbed with a pitchfork by a hired man who was feeding the stock. Another incident occurred in 1840. A gang of twenty was conveyed from Crabbs'. Arriving at about daylight, he ran them into a pine hollow. Early in the morning, a laborer on his way to work, seeing the negroes, reported at Judge George's that 'the hills were covered with d——d niggers; they would all be killed if something was not done.' The Judge joked with him and assured him that it was all imagination; but the Judge took in the situation and gave the laborer employment. [Those who harbored fugitive slaves ran great risk, the penalty in Ohio being $1000 fine and imprisonment.] During the day these slaves were removed to Crabbs' barn, where they were fed by Mrs. Annie Crabbs, and during the night they were conveyed to Salineville and then to Salem. Shortly after this came three robust negroes armed with revolvers. They were on foot and claimed they had purchased their freedom. In 1847 a mother, daughter and son came to our station, conveyed by conductors under David Ward. Judge George, taking a fancy to the boy, concluded to keep him, and sent the mother and daughter to North Salem. A party from New Lisbon wanting help, employed the mother and daughter. Jacob Clinton, working for George, got an idea there was reward for information of fugitive slaves. He succeeded in corresponding with the owner, the result of which proved beneficial to all concerned. A plot was concocted; Clinton was to go to New Lisbon [now Lisbon] and represent himself as a son of Judge

While at the time and in the region of which we write, there were two Quaker Meeting Houses, one at West Grove (Hicksites and Orthodox occupying the same house, but having separate graveyards[25]) and one at Harrisville (Wilburite),

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George and convince the mother that her son, who was at George's, was very lonesome and wanted his sister for company. After some persuasion the mother yielded, and the daughter was given up. Clinton had scarcely got out of sight when suspicion arose. A runner was sent to Salineville. The runner, returning, reported the suspicion well based. At once a company was organized at New Lisbon, headed by David George, and followed Clinton to Wellsville, but too late to catch him, the boat having gone. In the meantime the negro boy kept by George was hidden in a coal bank. While Dr. Farmer and Judge George were talking the matter over, a fine team drove up, a stylish person alighted and came into the house. He asked if a colored boy was there, and being informed there was, said: 'I am So and So, from New Lisbon; the mother sent me after the boy; the little sister is very lonesome and wants her brother for company.' Farmer and George taking in the situation, made things so hot for the gentleman that he was glad to drive off toward Steubenville. The mother and boy were immediately sent to Canada."

[25] The bitterness of feeling between the two factions of the Quaker church (Hicksite and Orthodox) was intense, and those familiar with the disruption in 1828, are not surprised over the fact that separate graveyards are used for burials. The Orthodox Friends had Hicksites arrested and brought before court both in criminal and civil cases. The only court record the compiler has been able to find is of the case of "Jonathan Taylor, Rouse Taylor, Isaac Parker, Jas. Kinsey, Horton Howard, who sue for the Society of Friends, consisting of the Ohio Yearly meeting, vs. Holiday Jackson, James Toleston and Nathan Galbraith; action in trespass; $5000 damages for disturbing plaintiff's house and injuring property. Sept. 9, 1828." In 1831 the record shows, "judgment for defendant for costs." The records for 1832 show payment of $19.79 costs. The Friend, or Advocate of Truth, a Quaker magazine published in Philadelphia, tenth month, 1828, contains reports of the "riot" at Mt. Pleasant from the Hicksite point of view, the writers employing the most vigorous language in denouncing the actions of the Orthodox. Those who have looked upon the Quaker as one of gentle spirit would be astounded by reading the charges made against the members of the Orthodox branch by the followers of Hicks. It was even charged that Jonathan Taylor feigned injury in order to procure indictment against

the majority of those taking part in assisting slaves to Canada were Seceders, who hewed straight to the line of principle, refusing to accept compromise either in religious or civil affairs. They were Scotch-Irish people — sturdy, longlived, austere, honest. They defied in America law they considered unjust, with the same courageous spirit their fathers fought against oppression in Scotland and Ireland — with the same spirit that comes of the knowledge of right, that made the fathers rebel against the power of George III. These aided the slave to liberty. They maintained the Standards of their church and no matter whether the transgressor be a member of his own household the prosecutor insisted that punishment follows convictions.[26] There was no sentiment in their theology, no fraternity

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Hicks. No matter which account of the disruption be accepted, the reader must conclude that on the occasion of the division there was more evidence of war-like spirit manifested than in any other church quarrel in the county.

[26] In reference to the statement that the Seceders insisted on strict observance of the rules of their church, it is recorded that John Carnahan, a member of the Cadiz church, was brought before the session by his wife on the (then) serious charge of "occasional hearing." After the churches had united, forming the United Presbyterian church, a Methodist minister was invited to fill the United Presbyterian pulpit, and Mrs. Carnahan refused to attend the service, declaring that as the Methodist minister was a very good man, she would like to hear him in her church on a week-day, but as for going to hear him on the "Sabbath," she would not; she could not countenance such profanation of the Lord's Day. Alexander Hammond of the Unity Seceder church was sessioned on the charge of profaning the "Sabbath," in that he went to hear his brother-in-law (a Presbyterian) preach. His brother, John Hammond, defied the elders to "session" him, and by standing against them he won a victory for individual liberty and for Presbyterianism, and opened the way for the revolution — Rev. Mr. Neviu, President of Franklin College, preaching at a Methodist camp-meeting on invitation of Rev. Edward Smith, known in the neighborhood as "Bully" Smith. It has been charged that the lack of blood affection among the Seceders was due to the austerity of their Scotch blood. While this is true to a degree, the time had much to do with it. This stoicism also obtained among the early settlers from New England. About the year

of feeling toward their fellows, and consequently members were frequently before the elders for what would now seem the most trivial violation of the church law as set down in the Standards — for "occasional hearing" (attending service in another communion on the "Sabbath day"), for calling the Sabbath "Sunday," singing other than David's psalms in worship, performing any but absolutely necessary labor on the "Sabbath day," etc. Rev. Dr. Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Disciples Church, was deposed from the Seceder Church because he favored union of the churches. The influence of these people was great and their rigidity of principle was a greater power along religious and civic lines than the laxity which now obtains.

Among the first settlers of that part of the Short Creek Valley now in Harrison County, were: Simpkins Herriman, John Matson, William Wiley, Alexander Hammond, James Beatty, Samuel Beatty, —— Ayers, —— Worley, John Booth (miller), Isaac Booth, Edward Hagan (miller), James Patton, Hugh Rodgers, Col. Joseph Holmes (brother of Jacob Holmes), James Carrick, George Riggle (operated the first mill at Georgetown, and for whom the village was named), William Ramsey, Samuel Moore, Lemuel Lamb (built a horse-mill near Georgetown), Aaron Mercer (operated a woolen-mill near Georgetown), James, John and William Kerr, James Adams, Samuel Hanna, Thomas Dickerson, John Beatty, John Walraven, John Martin, Robert Mintcer, Dr. Gaston, William and

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1822, John M. Goodenow and Benjamin Tappan, both distinguished men, of high degree, were practitioners at the Steubenville bar. Tappan was on the bench in 1823, in which year Goodenow asked to be appointed Prosecuting Attorney, and although Tappan was his brother-in-law, they having married sisters of John C. Wright, also a distinguished lawyer, all becoming more noted in after years, he protested to his associates on the bench against Goodenow's appointment, maintaining his objections with numerous unbrotherly charges; among them, that he broke jail in New England and ran away from justice; that he was a d——d rascal, and that his knowledge of law was so meagre that he was unfitted for the office.

Joseph Huff (noted Indian fighters), James Wilkin (built the first mill within the bounds of what is now Harrison county), James Taggart, Milo Courtright, John Heberling. At a very early date there were several machine shops in Georgetown devoted to the manufacture of threshing machines, which work continued up to the time consolidated capital destroyed the possibility of individual effort.

On Friday, June 12, 1807, the County Commissioners ordered that "so much of the seventh range of townships as lies west of the Townships of Springfield, Archer and Cadiz, be attached to the said townships respectively." This order took in all of what is now Harrison County and a portion of Carroll and Tuscarawas Counties, Jefferson County extending to the west line of the Seventh Range.

At the same meeting, the Commissioners, "on application, set off and incorporated the Tenth Township of the Third Range into a separate township and election district, to be distinguished and known by the name of Salem Township, and the first election to be held at the house of Jacob Coe."

This township was originally a part of Steubenville, out of which German (Harrison County), Salem, Island Creek and Steubenville were erected.

Among the Pathfinders[27] (1798-1808) were Jacob Coe, James Moores, Henry Miser, Edward Devine, Joseph Talbott, Rev. Joseph Hall (one of the pioneer Methodist Episcopal ministers), Henry Hammond (brother of Charles Hammond, the able lawyer and most noted of the early Ohio editors, whose work received Jefferson's praise), Joseph Hobson, Stephen Ford, Baltzer Culp, William Farquhar, John Collins, Ezekiel Cole, John Walker, John Johnson, William Bailey, James Bailey, James McLain, Adam Miser, William Smith, John Andrew (a soldier

[27] Henry Hammond, brother of Charles Hammond, of The Cincinnati Gazette, [now (1899) The Commercial Tribune] must have settled here, [near East Springfield,] before 1804, for he caught a land turtle and cut his initials on its shell: in 1850 he found the same turtle with 1804 and the initials distinctly visible. — Isaac Shane, in a letter to the compiler.

of the Revolutionary War and a Colonel in the War of 1812; his remains are buried in the graveyard on the hill at Salem Village); John Gillis, Sr., Francis Douglas, William Leslie, David Lyons, John Hogue John McComb, Thomas and Patrick Hardenmadder, Daniel Markham, Benjamin Hartman, Isaac Helmick, John Sunderland, John Wilson, William Mugg, William Vantz, Henry Jackman, Jacob Vantz, Andrew Strayer, Benjamin Talbott, Jacob Ong, John Watson, Joseph Flenniken, Adley Calhoun, Jacob Leas, Christian Albaugh, James Rutledge (from Pennsylvania, and of the same family as the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, the latter's people moving to South Carolina, and his remains lie at Charlestown), Isaac Shane, Aaron Allen, Robert Douglas (potter), Thompson Douglas (gunsmith), Thomas Calhoun, John McCullough, David Watt, David Rogers, George Hout, Henry Morrison (first settler on Mingo Bottom in 1793, and was in the War of 1812 with Col. Duvall), William McCarel, Dr. Anderson Judkins, William Bahan, Charles Leslie, Thomas George, Thomas Orr, William Blackiston, Samuel Bell, David Sloane, Richard Jackson (the grandfather of Mason Jackson, a Baron, title given by the late King of Württemberg), Levi Miller, Stewart McClave, Richard McCullough, John Collins, John Stutz, John Wolf, William Dunlap, William Davidson, William Alexander, John Markle (an early school teacher), Adam Winklesplech, ——Stout (storekeeper), William Leas.

In 1800, Joseph Talbott, a Friend, settled on the site of Richmond, having purchased a quarter-section of land from Bezaleel Wells in 1799, but he did not lay out the town until 1815. This year he employed Isaac Jenkins to survey the land for lots, 60x160, with streets 60 feet in width. The first house was built by Benjamin Hartman who opened a tavern and also followed blacksmithing. The first store was kept by Allen Farquhar, and the first physician was Anderson Judkins. The village was incorporated in 1835; John Tyball and Samuel Hanson were elected Justices and James Ball, Clerk. Adam Stewart was the first Mayor, James Riley, Recorder; William Far-

mer, Thomas Burns, Henry Crew, John McGregor, E. M. Pyle, Trustees.

Richmond is the seat of the only college[28] in Jefferson County, the institution having been established in 1835.

Salem was laid out in 1802 by Isaac Helmick, on Section Thirty-two, entered by Henry and Adam Miser, whose descendants still own considerable of the land. The village grew to such importance that its people set up a strong claim for the location of the county seat. There was a large settlement of Germans in this part of the county, and descendants still possess the land. The first house was built by John Sunderland, the first storekeeper was ——Harrison, followed soon by John Wilson and —— Hutchinson, and the first tavern keepers were ——Simmons and William Mugg. Jacob Vantz and William Smith, who came from Maryland, were the first hatters; Nicholas Wheeler and Mrs. ——Leslie were the earliest school teachers whose names have been preserved by tradition. William McGowan and son David, the latter the founder of the McGowan wholesale grocery house of Steubenville, located in Salem in 1820, and engaged in the manufacture of woolen goods, an industry very profitably pursued throughout this whole

[28] Richmond college is the outgrowth of a select school taught in Richmond, Salem township, Jefferson county, in 1832 by Rev. J. C. Tidball. The charter was granted January 22, 1835, and [Judge] Thomas George, Isaac Shane, William Blackiston, Henry Crew, Stephen Ford, Thomas Orr, David Sloane, Nathaniel Myers, John Cook, William Farmer, Samuel Bell, A. T. Markle and James H. Moore were directors; but the college was not really established until 1843. In October of that year, Rev. John R. Dundass was chosen President and D. D. McBryer, Professor of Languages and Natural Science. In 1845 a brick building, 32 x 45 feet, was erected for the accommodation of the college, on land bought from Joseph Talbott and on land donated by Thomas Howard. The Building Committee was composed of Thomas Barnes, E. M. Pyle, Henry Crew. In June, 1846, John Comin was elected Professor of Languages and Moral Science, and William Sarver was chosen Professor of Mathematics and Natural Science. In 1846 D. D. McBryer was chosen President, and several chairs were added and filled as follows: Hebrew and Evidences of Christianity, Rev. William Lorimer; Ancient and Modern History, Rev. B. F. Sawhill. In September, 1848,

country at that time. Adam Winklesplech (grandfather of D. W. Matlack of Steubenville), was an early merchant, coming to Jefferson County before the Indians had been sent to reservations farther west.

As has been noted, Salem was very ambitious. It grew so rapidly, that shortly after it was laid out James Kelly made an addition and erected an immense flour mill. During the "town-booming" period of 1815, which lasted until the financial panic of 1819, banks were organized with remarkable facility throughout the country, two of these "wild cat" institutions falling to the lot of the Village of Salem, but of only one have we the least record, and this record is the story of a murder. Dr. G. W. Duffield was the President of the Salem Bank, and when it failed in 1818, suits were brought against him to recover on the notes. During the trial before Jacob Vantz, Justice of the Peace, in the village, on the 9th of July, 1818,

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J. R. W. Sloane, [father of Prof. Sloane of Columbia college, author of the best life of Napoleon ever written, and other important works,] was elected President. In 1850 the Presbytery of Steubenville took the college under its charge, and Rev. Cyrus C. Riggs was chosen President, with Rev. W. Easton and J. R. W. Sloane added to the Faculty. The Presbytery held the college in charge only one year. In 1854 the Pittsburg M. E. Conference took charge, and M. S. Bonafield and C. R. Slutz composed the Faculty with Rev. S. H. Nesbit, President. In 1860 Col. J. T. Holmes was elected President, which position he held two years, he then giving up the work to enter the Federal army. Since then the college has passed through many hands with varying success. In 1872, under the charge of Prof. Lewis Ong, larger buildings were erected, the corner-stone having been laid August 8. Addresses were delivered on this occasion by Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, J. B. Dickey, John Marvin and W. B. Watkins. After Prof. Ong came Dr. G. W. McMillan who is now (1899) in charge. — From a Sketch of Richmond College written for "The Pathfinders of Jefferson County."

Hon. William Lawrence, of Bellefontaine, O., on November 1, 1833, became a student in Rev. John C. Tidball's academy, then situated about three miles from Knoxville, on the road to Steubenville. The academy was about 1835 removed to Richmond. He continued at the academy until the spring of 1836. In the fall of 1836 he entered Franklin College, at New Athens, from which he graduated with class honors in the fall of 1838. — From a sketch of Judge Wm. Lawrence, by his son, John M. Lawrence, A. M.

spirited words passed between Duffield and David Redick, the attorney for the prosecution. The trial adjourned and Redick followed Duffield to the street, and throwing his weight upon him bore Duffield to the ground. Duffield, feeling his life in danger, stabbed his antagonist in the neck with a doctor's lance. Redick died as result of the wound while being conveyed to Steubenville in a wagon. Duffield was indicted and tried during the August term and was acquitted. The form of indictment in 1818 was the same as that used in the territory in 1798, and related that the accused, "not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by instigation of the devil," committed the crime. Like in most cases of the suspended "wild cat" banks the only asset remaining of the Salem bank was a table, which afterward became the property of John M. Goodenow. The only asset of one of the banks in the county was a keg filled with nails, having a mere covering of gold and silver coins!

John Andrew, whose grave in the Salem Cemetery is marked by a small sandstone, with the inscription, "John Andrew, a native of Marseilles, in the South of France; a soldier of the Revolutionary War and of the War of 1812," was one of the Pathfinders of Jefferson County, coming here at the opening of the century. He came to America with Lafayette, and was with Wayne in storming Stony Point, on the night of July 16, 1779, and was one the eighty-three patriots wounded in the bold attack on the British stronghold, he receiving a bayonet-thrust entirely through his abdomen, and strange as it may seem, he lived, none of the intestines being seriously injured. In the same battle he received a sabre-stroke across the temple and cheek, leaving a scar which he carried to his grave. When the Jefferson County troops were called out to fight the British in the Second War for Independence John Andrew was made First Lieutenant (Colonel) of the regiment, and he served with honor and distinction until peace was declared. The date of his death is unknown, but is supposed to be 1835. Although a native of Southern France, the name, Andrew (or Andrews as it often appears in public documents), would indicate that

this hero whose bones are an honor to the ground that received them, was of Scotch parentage; not only this, the fact that the first Associate Reform Church in the township was organized at his house would convince the compiler that Col. John Andrews was of the blood of John Knox.

Gen. George A. Custer, one of the most brilliant of the soldiers developed by the War Between the States, was born within a few miles of Salem, in territory out of which Salem Township was erected, December 5, 1839, of Hessian parentage, the father being a pioneer in this county. Gen. Custer was killed with his whole command of 277 cavalrymen, by the Indians under Sitting Bull, at Little Horn River, Mont., June 25, 1876. His brothers, Thomas and Boston, and a brother-in-law, were in the command and met the same fate.

William Vantz, son of Jacob Vantz, the Justice and hatter, was appointed Postmaster of Salem by President Monroe and held the office for fifty-three years.

When Harrison County was organized in 1814, a portion of the Village of Salem fell within the lines of the new civil division.

East Springfield was laid out in 1803, by John Gillis, surveyor, school-teacher, and Sheriff of the county during 1806-8. The village is noted in the early records as Gillis Town. The first residents were Francis Douglas (County Sheriff from 1797 to 1804), William Leslie, David Lyons, John Hogue, John McComb, Thomas and Patrick Hardenmadder (the two latter in the War of 1812), Richard Jackson (clock and silversmith). The first tavern was kept by John Hogue; Charles Leslie kept the first store. William Dunlap, for many years a merchant of Steubenville, was also an early merchant of East Springfield. Rev. Dr. William Davidson's father was an early resident. David Lyons and Daniel Markham were the blacksmiths, who manufactured all the axes, chains and nails needed in the neighborhood, the former making nails and the latter saddle tacks. John Wolf[29] was one of the first Justices.

[29] John Wolf, Esq., was here [East Springfield] in 1807. It is related that after being notified of his election, and returning home, he told

The town being on the mail route between Steubenville and Canton, after roads were opened, it became a town of considerable importance and much business was transacted. Here the stage horses were changed and hotels flourished, and these were prosperous days for the village. General musters[30] of the militia of all this region under command of Gen. Samuel Stokely, were held here with all the pomp and circumstance, excitement and turmoil usually attendant on such occasions, and so thoroughly enjoyed by the fathers. The military spirit was in evidence in the days of the prosperous village.

The citizens of the village built a school-house soon after the town was laid out, there being enough settlers in the neighborhood (there being no more than a dozen families in town in 1809) to support a teacher by subscription. The names of the first teachers are lost in oblivion, but the earliest known were John (Jack) Gillis (the founder or his son), Dr. Markle, Mr. Byers (from New England), Isaac N. Shane, Charles McGonnigal, Benjamin F. Gass, Daniel Langton (also kept a store), John Bell, James Foster. Mr. Foster employed original methods of punishment; he, perhaps, was not as severe in his "corrections" as distinguished earlier "professors," but the results were altogether as beneficial: His offending pupils were

his wife that he was Squire. The children took it up and were calling one another Squire. Mrs. Wolf ordered them to shut up, declaring, "There's nobody Squire but your father and me." When David Tod (a Democrat) was running for Governor my father told the joke to Joe Geiger, who wrote some doggeral verses, one of which I remember:

> Be silent, each little young sappy,
> Or I'll tickle your back with a rod:
> There's none but myself and your pappy
> Shall ever be Governor Tod.

Geiger applied it to the politics of the times. — Letter from Isaac Shane to the compiler.

[30] We boys had fine times during the general musters. Here alone we got gingerbread, which to our taste was next to ambrosia, the food of gods. Whisky, too, was plenty — a good kind, that Tom Corwin called the great leveler of modern society not that indescribable chemical compound of our times, that violates law and fills jails. — Letter from Isaac Shane to the compiler.

punished by being compelled to wear an old, soiled red cap, made after the fashion of a Turkish fez, to their disgust and amusement of the other pupils. The cap, when not employed in endeavor to force the recalcitrant child to keep within the lines of rectitude, was worn during school hours by the teacher himself.

The people of Salem Township had means of grace very soon after settlements were made. Joseph Hall, a pioneer itinerant Methodist Episcopal minister, organized a society in 1800, at the house of his father-in-law, James Moores. He also held services alternately at the houses of Stephen Ford and Henry Jackman up to 1808, when a log church was built on the lands of Henry Jackman. The first class of this society was composed of James Moores and wife, Elizabeth, Henry Jackman and wife, Christine, Joseph Hall and wife, Deliah, Stephen Ford and wife, Ruth, George Hout and wife, Christine. James Moores was the leader. Rev. Mr. Hall organized a Methodist Episcopal Church society at the houses of Henry (Harry) Hammond and William Davidson, in East Springfield in 1808, although Isaac Shane writes the compiler that the Protestant Episcopal communion, under charge of Rev. Intrepid Morse,[31]

[31] While the real history of the Protestant Episcopal church of Jefferson county goes back to the close of the last century, (Rev. Dr. Doddridge noting the date as 1796 when he first held services in Steubenville, and 1800 at the Widow McGuire's, then in Steubenville township, the beginning of St. James church now in Cross Creek township,) the official history of this communion began in 1819, the time Rev. Intrepid Morse took charge of the parishes of St. Paul (Steubenville,) and St. James (Cross Creek,) under Rev. Philander Chase, first Bishop of Ohio, and thus the record of early labors of the indefatigable Dr. Doddridge were "officially" obliterated. It was in the following year Rev. Mr. Morse began holding services at East Springfield. Whether Dr. Doddridge held services in Salem township at an earlier period, the compiler is unable to state as a fact, but it is presumed that he did, for he was a missionary of great energy and kept alive the spark of Episcopacy wherever he found even the faintest glow. The reason Dr. Doddridge's work in this county was not recognized in the official history of the church is given by local churchmen to be the result of rivalry between Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Chase, resulting in considerable bitterness of

was first to hold services in the village. As Rev. Mr. Morse was not in this region before 1819, it is evident the Methodist Episcopal was in the field here before the Protestant Episcopal. The first Methodist Episcopal class in East Springfield was composed of the Rileys, the Rutledges, Johnsons and Morrisons. In 1826, Mr. Shane writes, the citizens of East Springfield built a church which was jointly used for Divine services by Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal communions; but the latter being in the majority, the church was called the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Methodist Episcopal adherents erected a church building of their own in 1846.

An Associated Reform Church was organized in Salem Township in 1805 by Rev. Alexander Calderhead, who, in 1800, organized a church on Piny Fork, in Smithfield Township. This was the beginning of the United Presbyterian Church of Richmond. The organization was made at the house of Col. John Andrew(s), where John Collins, John Walker and John Johnson were ordained elders. The following year what was then called a tent (covering for the preacher, clerk and pre-

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feeling. Dr. Doddridge came into the field early, and held regular services long before the Diocese of Ohio was formed, working with the same spirit that characterized his labors in the Lord's vineyard on the Virginia hills, his task being an arduous one, and when the Diocese was formed he naturally believed that he was entitled to the Episcopal office. When Dr. Philander Chase was selected, it was but natural that he should feel injustice was his lot, and he perhaps expressed resentment. At all events, the official history of the Protestant Episcopal church in Steubenville begins with the coming of Rev. Mr. Morse. Two sons of Bishop Chase were wedded to daughters of Bezaleel Wells — Rev. Dr. Philander marrying Rebecca and Rev. Dudley, Sarah. Rebecca becoming a widow, married Rev. Intrepid Morse. Rev. Mr. Morse entered into rest in February, 1866, after almost half a century of arduous labor as a missionary and beloved stated rector. His labors were exacting, but the results were a benediction upon the head of this indefatigable worker for the advancement of the church: he saw the seed sown by Dr. Doddridge grow into a great tree, whose branches were widespreading. St. Paul's became, in his life-time, a great factor in religious as well as social affairs of the community. His wife, Rebecca Wells, followed him to their eternal home four years later.

centor), was erected on the farm of James McClain. It was made of clap-boards worked out with the pioneer tool, known as a frow, and was 5x6 feet. In April, 1811, Rev. George Buchanan, born in the York Barrens (Pa.) and a pupil of Alexander Dobbins, from whose classical school came many Ohioans, became pastor. In 1816, a hewn-log building, 24x28, was erected on the farm of David Andrews, and was called the Union Church. Rev. Buchanan was succeeded in 1831 by Rev. Hugh Parks who was followed by William Lorimer. In 1836 a brick church was erected in Richmond, which was used until 1851, when a building 42x60 feet was erected.

A Friends' Meeting was organized at the house of William Farquhar in 1803, the society having been composed of William Farquhar and wife, Elizabeth, Joseph Hobson and wife, Ann, Joseph Talbott and wife, Mary, Benjamin Talbott and wife, Susannah, Jacob Ong and wife, Mary. In 1815 a log meeting house was built, which was replaced by a brick five years later. This meeting did not grow as did the other religious organitions and became extinct years ago, giving evidence of the truth of John Wesley's idea that new blood is essential to the spiritual as well as material expansion of the Church.

Mt. Hope Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1830, holding services for ten years at the house of James Rutledge, when a log structure was built, this house being replaced by a frame one in 1860. The first class leader was James Cowden.

The East Springfield Presbyterian Church was organized in 1847, at which time Stewart McClave, William Palmer, George Hammond, John Calhoun, Joseph Clemens and Caleb Waggoner were the trustees. Previously the Presbyterians in this immediate neighborhood found the Gospel expounded to their liking along Calvinistic lines at either Bacon Ridge or at the Two Ridges Churches. Having obtained sufficient funds, these trustees erected a church building in East Springfield, which was dedicated in 1850, Rev. Dr. C. C. Beatty preaching the sermon. This church was finally organized by Rev. Cyrus Riggs and John Knox, Rev. Mr. Riggs being the first min-

ister. He was succeeded by Rev. John Walton, who served six months, followed by Rev. Mr. Lafferty, who served seven years. Other ministers were: Rev. J. S. McGuire, Rev. C. W. Wycoff, Rev. William Eaton.

Rev. Mr. Riggs also organized a Presbyterian Church in Richmond in 1852; John McGregor, Benjamin S. Bailey and William Patterson were the first elders.

A Lutheran Church (St. Paul's) was organized in Salem in 1814, which was the first German church in the county, there having been a large early settlement of Germans only in this part of the county, and the influence of these settlers comes to, and is maintained by, the third generation, the thrifty spirit of the fathers being the inheritance of the children. Hon. John Gruber (father of David M. Gruber, Esq., of the Steubenville Bar), who represented Harrison County in the Legislature of Ohio in 1836-7, and who was a lawyer of great force, was of this settlement, and a characteristic example of the rectitude and ability of these people. The founder of St. Paul's Lutheran Church was Rev. John Rinehart, and the first elders were: Jacob Vantz, Andrew Strayer. The other ministers were: Rev. James Manning (1825-34), Rev. Benjamin Pope (1839-43), Rev. Amos Bartholomew, 1843-48), Rev. George Baughman (1849-50), David Sweeney, David Sparks, James Manning, Jacob Singer, Joseph Roof, D. M. Kemerer.

Salem Township Pathfinders were exceedingly active in industrial pursuits, Town Fork of Yellow Creek, Cedar and Clay Licks furnishing unlimited power for flour-mills and distilleries.

Ross Township was set off as a civil division by the County Commissioners in 1812, it then being Township Twelve of Range Three, and was a complete surveyed township until the northern tier of sections was taken off to aid in the formation of Brush Creek Township.

Some years previous to 1800 and as late as 1805, "squatters" built cabins on Yellow Creek, subsisting on game and fish, and as salt was a product of this region, these "squatters" had little trouble in obtaining such merchandise needed by them in barter for this mineral. Among these squatters were:

William Castleman, Mark Dike, John Bruce, John Davis, Jacob Drake and William Rook.

Among the first permanent settlers (1798-1813) were: Thomas George, Allen Speedy, Arthur Latimer, Stephen Coe, Ludowich Hardenbrook, Joseph Elliott, William Scott, John Farquhar, Henry Crabbs, Joseph Reed, Isaac Shane, Thomas Bay, Mordecai Moore, "Daddy" Dixon, Robert Barnhill, Johnson McEldery, Alexander Johnston, William Grimes, Captain Allen (War of 1812), Henry Gregg (grandfather of Richard Henry Gregg, Esq., of the Steubenville bar), coming from Redstone with his brother Richard in 1802, the latter attaining the age of 105 years; Robert George and Thomas George, his son (from what is now Dauphin County, Pa.), came to Jefferson County in 1805, and settled on Section Twenty-eight, in what is now Ross Township; Andrew Griffin, Benjamin Shane, John Shane.

James Shane came to Washington County, Pa., from New Jersey in 1794, and in 1798 crossed the Ohio River at Cable's Ferry and located on Wills Creek. Here he married Hannah Rex, of Greene County, Pa., and in 1810 moved to Island Creek Township, and then to Ross Township. His son, Isaac Shane, is now (1899) keeping hotel in East Springfield.

Mordecai Moore, Sr., who was with Captain William Harbaugh in the War of 1812, settled in Ross Township in 1815.

Salt boiling was the first important industry of Ross Township. Jack Peterson, who had been a constable under the Territorial Government, drilled the first well with view of obtaining salt water, employing a spring pole for a motor; but not until 1815, when Mordecai Moore introduced shallow pans, did the business of salt making rise to the dignity of a commercial factor; and although Moores Salt Works is still the name of the scene of industrial activity, salt-boiling has not been engaged in for years. It was near here, at the mouth of Brimstone Run, that the Indians gathered Seneca (petroleum) oil by means of blankets spread upon the surface of the water.

On Section Thirty-three stand the remains of an ancient fortification, supposed to be the work of the so-called Mound

Builders.[32] It is on a bluff, circular in form, the radius being 250 feet. The north side of the bluff is 200 feet high and very precipitous. On the southwest the fortification is 100 feet high and slopes gradually to the creek. When first noted by the Pathfinders the ditch was forty feet deep and large trees were growing in it.

The first grist mill ran by water power was built by Stephen Coe in 1808, near the site of Mooretown, but many others followed and distilleries were also numerous. The products—flour, whisky and salt, were hauled to the mouth of Yellow Creek and from there were taken down the river to New Orleans on flatboats. When the canal was opened wheat was hauled to Massillon and Bolivar (the site of Fort Laurens), but pork then became the leading product of that portion of Ross Township then and now known as Bacon Ridge. Pork was hauled to Pittsburg and Baltimore in wagons drawn by six horses and "teaming," as it was called, was an important business. Smoked hams sold for six cents a pound, butter was five and six cents a pound, and eggs two cents the dozen. The

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[32] While many of the archæologists hold the view that a race of men, now extinct, different in most distinguishing characteristics from the race recognized as the American Indian, built the mounds and fortifications found in various parts of the country, there being perhaps ten in Jefferson county, notably in Warren, Wells, Cross Creek, Ross and Saline townships, W. H. Holmes of the National Museum, does not class the so-called Mound Builders as a different race, but the progenitors of the American Indian. Mr. Holmes is of the noted Short Creek valley Holmes family. He was with the Haden Expedition; for years he was in the United States Government Geological Survey Bureau, and is now in the National Museum. No one has had better opportunity for the study of archæology and ethnology than he, and having peculiar talent for research along this line, he is a recognized authority. There were mound builders, but those who raised the earthworks were of the race known as American Indians.

A mound on the farm of William Medill of Warren township, was partly opened a few years ago. Remains of bodies were found in well-made sarcophagus, the bodies being in sitting posture. A pipe representing a bear's head, arrow-heads and other stone implements, a copper needle and a piece of mica were recovered.

people made their own clothing — linen for summer and woolens for winter. The women wore linsey or flannel for common and calico for dress occasions.

Bacon Ridge Presbyterian Church was organized by Rev. George Scott in 1804. Among the first members were: Arthur Latimer, John P. McMillen, Stephen Coe, Thomas Bay, Calvin Moorehead, Aaron Allan, Andrew Dixon. The first minister was William McMillen, who served two years. The first church, like all the pioneer religious houses, was built of logs, and served its purpose until 1820, when a brick edifice (30x50) was built on Section Twenty-five, standing until other churches in the same territory, and nearer the homes of the people, reduced the congregation. The third church building erected by this congregation was a frame, 30x44 feet. Among the first ministers whose names have only been preserved by tradition, were: Thomas Hunt (7 years), James Robertson (7 years). J. R. Dundas was the minister from 1840 to 1844, followed by Cyrus Riggs.

The beginning of the Yellow Creek United Presbyterian Church was the Associate Congregation (Seceder) organized in 1814 by Rev. E. N. Scroggs. Rev. John Walker and Dr. Ramsay were among the early ministers. The first preaching services were at the house of Thomas George (afterwards noted as an underground railway station), then in a tent, and in 1828 a brick house of worship (30x40 feet) was erected; but in 1850 a larger house was built, and this one is still occupied. Other ministers who served this congregation were: Rev. John Donaldson, Rev. James Patterson, Rev. John Easton, Rev. T. Simpson. Among the first members were: Henry Crabbs (Krebs) and wife, Anna, Hamilton Walker and wife, Mary, William Kelly and wife, Christine, Nathan Barr and wife, Margaret, Samuel Dorrance and wife, Mary, John Jordan and wife, Mary Ann, Thomas George and wife, Jane, John Kean and wife, Mary, and Sarah Story. Thomas George and Henry Crabbs were ruling elders.

While the followers of the scholarly and powerful Wesley did not build a church as early as did the followers of the cour-

ageous Knox, they held Methodist Episcopal services in the territory long before the township was organized, meeting places being at private houses. For years preaching services were held at the home of Richard Jackman (maternal grandfather of Richard Henry Gregg of the Steubenville Bar), on Bacon Ridge. Alexander Johnston (father of Judge William Johnston, one of the most noted of the natives of Jefferson County, becoming distinguished as a lawyer, statesman and politician), who came from Pennsylvania to Ohio about 1800, was a Methodist Episcopal minister, following farming during the week days and preaching on Sundays. He became quite wealthy; the Scotch are often as thrifty as the Anglo-Saxon Quakers. He owned a very large tract of land in the township, including the farms now (1899) owned by John Lysle and Matthew Stevenson. Alexander Johnson's son, Alexander, was also a Methodist Episcopal minister; a man of wonderful talent, he having written a commentary on the Bible, declared by those who read the manuscript (it was not published) to have been the scholarly effort of a deep mind.

Mt. Zion was the first Methodist Episcopal Church and was organized in 1834, the class being composed of James Taylor and wife, Hettie, Henry Gregg and wife, Susannah, Benjamin Elliott and wife, Nancy, Jane Jackman, with Thomas Taylor as leader. The church was organized by Rev. Edward Taylor.

The Pine Grove Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1838, Samuel N. Heron being the class leader. Rev. Samuel Wharton first preached in a log school house, and a class was formed the following year by Rev. Thomas Thompson. The class was composed of Andrew Saltsman and wife, Catharine, Solomon Hartman, Mrs. Rebecca Schonehart and daughter, Julia Ann, Matthew Roach and wife, Elizabeth, Robert Mills and wife, Elizabeth. In 1841, under the ministrations of Rev. John Murray and Rev. George McClusky, a brick church was built.

In speaking of the morality of the Bacon Ridge region, Isaac Shane writes: "The morals of our neighborhood were

fairly good. While my father [James Shane] had many criminal cases before him, the offenders came mostly from the Yellow Creek settlements. William Johnston, a law student in Steubenville, and afterwards a Judge in Cincinnati, started, as I suppose, on Bacon Ridge, the first temperance society in the county, the members signing a very strict pledge. This was in 1833."

In regard to schools Mr. Shane writes: "The early schools were taught on subscription. There were no school houses. A teacher would get the use of some cabin or outhouse, or a farmer's kitchen, in which to hold his school. He would seat it in a very primitive way; but it served its purpose: the children learned to read, write and cypher, and all were pleased. The teachers were persons of very common scholarship. The first I call to mind was Mr. —— Dixon, Thomas Riley and —— Baker; next came Henry Crabbs and Samuel McCutcheon. The schools were held sometimes one month, sometimes three, according to the money raised. The schools were kept in winter, but seldom in summer; nor were they kept every winter. The predominating religious influence being Presbyterian, the parents were encouraged by the ministers to educate their children. About 1820, under a then new law, townships were districted and school houses built; but still the distilleries outnumbered the school houses four to one. The first school house in our neighborhood [Bacon Ridge] was built on lands now owned by John Lysle, and then a marked improvement was noticed both in schools and teachers. Samuel McCutcheon and Henry Crabbs continued to wield the birch, and after them came Peter Eckley (uncle of Hon. E. R. Eckley of Carrollton), Joseph Shane [uncle of Isaac Shane] and James Clendenning; and in 1837 the first female teacher came among us—a Miss Hartshorn."

In this neighborhood and under these conditions, was reared Judge William Johnston, one of the most notable men the State of Ohio ever produced from Pennsylvania blood. He was educated in the Ross Township schools, studied law under John C. Wright (member of congress from 1821 to 1829,

brother-in-law of John M. Goodenow, member of Congress from 1829 to 1831, and of Judge Tappan, United States Senator from 1839 to 1845), became Prosecuting Attorney of Carroll County, and served that county in the State Legislature in 1837. He had long been recognized as an advocate of the proposition for Ohio to adopt the Pennsylvania and New York common school system, and was at last given opportunity to draft the law providing for the common school system now in force, although improved as years gave note of imperfections. It was in support of the common school law that he made one of the most notable oratorical efforts ever made in Ohio, not only in its immediate influence that resulted in the passage of the bill, but in its lasting influence upon the state. After describing the difficulties encountered by himself in obtaining the rudiments of an education in the days of Henry Crabbs and Thomas Riley, he insisted that the boys and girls should have a better chance than he had had on the banks of "Yaller Crick," as he pronounced the name of the stream in imitation of the boys reared in the wilds of Ohio. "The old Irish school master," he said, "holds forth three months in the year [quoting Johnston's own words] in a poor cabin, with greased-paper window panes. The children trudge three miles through winter's snow and mud to school. They begin at a-b, ab, and get over as far as b-oo-b-y, booby, when school gives out and they take up their spring work on the farm. The next winter, when school takes up, if it takes up so soon again, having forgotten all they had been taught previously in the speller, they begin again at a-b, ab, but year after year never get any further than b-oo-b-y, booby."

Judge Burnet of Cincinnati, at the time, said it was the most powerful speech on education ever made in Ohio. Samuel Medary, in The Statesman, gave him the name of "Booby" Johnston in a disrespectful spirit, but the name stuck and became a title of which his friends were ever proud. From this time forward Johnston's great ability was recognized and appreciated. He removed to Cincinnati, and his oratorical efforts in behalf of General Harrison in his Presidential campaign pro-

cured for him appointment as Surveyor General of the district composed of Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. He afterwards became Judge of the Superior Court in Cincinnati. He was appointed by President Lincoln as a member of commission to revise the statutes of the United States, his ability as a lawyer being thus recognized by highest authority. As orator he was second only to Tom Corwin: Both reared under like conditions; with scarcely any opportunity, viewed from the standpoint of to-day, to obtain what is called education, both reached the highest rung of the ladder whose steps are reached only by education. We may sneer as we are wont at the "Irish" school master and at the log-cabin school of the pioneers, but have the new masters and the finely equipped modern schools of Ross Township produced in all these years since the consummation of his efforts to make the attainment of education easier, the equal of William Johnston? After all, the greatest factor in the production of men of vast brain force may not be in the standing of the master, nor in the architecture of the school house. Judge Johnston was "witty and powerful in argument. His lighter characteristics enabled him to amuse and hold an audience, while his powerful logic convinced their minds." After serving four years on the bench he became a candidate for the United States Senatorship in the triangular contest that resulted in the election of Banjamin Wade, also of Scotch blood. In 1850 he was the Whig candidate for Governor, making a hard but ineffectual campaign, as he said himself, "to save his party from the wreck then pending." Judge Johnston was not only the author of the Ohio common school law;[33] he began the agitation that resulted in removing from the statutes of Ohio the very obnoxious inheritance

[33] Jefferson county has done more, perhaps, than any other county in Ohio for advancement of the public school system. Aside from the efforts of William Johnston, noted elsewhere, Mordecai Bartley, also of Pennsylvania blood, performed a great service, in that he was the first person to propose in Congress conversion of the Section Sixteen lands into a permanent fund for support of the common schools, and by his influence secured passage of law to this end. Mordecai Bartley,

from England, that most absurd of all laws, providing for imprisonment of indigent debtors.

While a boy on Yellow Creek he developed mechanical genius in the manufacture of spinning wheels, and at his home in Cincinnati his recreation was taken in a workshop fitted with all sorts of mechanical tools, which he could handle with the skill of a master. His brother, Michael, was also a mechanical genius, and when he lived in Steubenville he kept a drug store and manufactured clocks, the clock now in use in the Steubenville National Bank having been made by him. Judge Johnston's mechanical skill was of great advantage to him in his practice as a patent attorney. He was long associated with Tom Corwin, the two successfully defending Governor Bebb, indicted on the charge of murder, he having shot a man, who with others, was engaged in charivari at the Governor's house, on the occasion of the home-coming of his son, Michael, and bride, from New England in May, 1857. Johnston's efforts in this noted case gave him wide prominence. He was also associated with Reverdy Johnson in a Revolutionary War claim against the United States Government; they winning in the legal contest, received a fee of $100,000.

In 1887 Judge Johnston published "Arguments to Courts and Juries," an 8vo. of 543 pages, consisting principally of his own arguments made in many important cases, adding greatly to his reputation as a legist.

In early life William Johnston wedded Elizabeth, daughter of William Blackstone, a prominent Friend of Smithfield Township, two sons and two daughters resulting from the union; the sons are dead, the daughters living. He died in 1891, aged eighty-five years.

When Columbiana County was taken off of Jefferson and

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thirteenth Governor of Ohio, was born in Fayette county, Pa., in 1783, and in 1809 settled near the mouth of Cross Creek (Mingo). He was Adjutant of the Jefferson county regiment in the Second War for Independence, and afterwards settled in Richland county. He served four terms in Congress, during which he succeeded in procuring the important school legislation above mentioned.

made a separate civil organization in 1803, a portion of the territory forming Brush Creek Township was included in the new county; but in 1832 the Legislature re-arranged the line which replaced Brush Creek in Jefferson County, and in 1833 the County Commissioners took from Ross Township the northern row of sections, adding them to Brush Creek. This action left Ross an incomplete surveyed township while Brush Creek is only a part of Township Twelve of Range Three. These divisions of the country into incomplete surveyed townships add materially to the difficulty of distributing the Section Sixteen school fund.

Among the first settlers were: Martin Adams (Justice of the Peace, miller and distiller; he gave a portion of his farm for the site of Chestnut Grove Methodist Episcopal Church), Thomas Gillingham (agent for a company of Pennsylvania Quakers engaged in salt boiling), Henry Emmons, Matthew Russell, Thomas Adams, Jacob Ritter, Abraham Croxton, Joshua Downard, John Hutton, William Kerr, Samuel Clark, John Adams, Elisha Brooks, Cyrus Moore (soldier of the War of 1812), Kenneth McLennan, John C. McIntosh.

It was in this township, it is believed, Joshua Downard first settled, and who, in company with John Hutton, was the first person to engage in the manufacture of salt, having discovered a salt spring about 1796 while hunting game. This was certainly the beginning of an industry that added greatly to the wealth of the county, the sale of this important product at $10 a barrel in the early days, along with whisky, brandy and flour, laying the foundation of fortunes still possessed by descendants of Pathfinders. Perhaps the most extensive of the salt boilers was the Quaker company of Bucks County, Pa. (Nathan Harper, Joseph Potts & Co.). Jacob Nessley, Sr., the great grandfather of J. N. McCullough, the noted railroad man, owned considerable salt land in the northern part of the county, and his son, Jacob Nessley, Jr., engaged in production. Most of the descendants of these men are wealthy in inheritance of property and in the German thrift of their ancestors. Joshua Downard

came to Brush Creek in 1784, and his son, Joseph, was born on the North Fork of Yellow Creek in 1796.

The beginning of Chestnut Grove Methodist Episcopal Church was early in the century, and the claim is made that meetings were held by followers of Wesley before the last century closed. It is at least known that services held about 1800, at the house of Jeremiah Hickman, at the mouth of Yellow Creek, were the beginning not only of Chestnut Grove, but also of the societies at Irondale and Highland Town. It is known that Rev. William Tipton preached at Hickman's in 1822. The meetings were afterwards held at the house of Theophilus Kirk, near where Hammondsville now is. The first class was composed of Susan Kirk, Susan Cox, Mary Cox, Amy Drew, David Walter, Mary Walter, James Ewing, Sarah Ewing. The early ministers were William Tipton, John E. McGrew, John R. Shearer.

Chestnut Grove Church, when finally established, occupied a stone church building on the farm of Martin Adams within sight of his distillery. At the request of his housekeeper, Mrs. Agnes Hartley, Adams built a stone Lutheran Church, but before the building was finished Mrs. Hartley died, and it was occupied by the Methodist Episcopal communion, it being free to all denominations in accordance with Adams' desire.

"The Old Log School House," noted in the writings of Dr. Alexander Clark, has, perhaps, given Brush Creek Township its widest prominence. The first school house in the township was built in 1814. Samuel Clark, father of Rev. Dr. Clark, divine and author, was the first teacher in this building. He was employed for three months at $10 per month by Matthew Russell and Moses Marshall, and he was boarded free by Marshall. But the "Old Log School House" made famous by Dr. Clark was built in 1830 by James Clark and Charles Marshall, at the cost of $30 and a liberal supply of liquor from Adams' distillery, the building being in sight of the distillery as well as of Chestnut Grove Church. William Kerr was the first master. The first election of school officers was on September 8, 1830, at the house of Martin Adams, when Samuel Clark was selected as

Clerk, and John Adams, William Kerr and Elisha Brooks, Directors.

Monroeville is the only village in the township. It was founded by Charles Croxton and named for the President.

Saline Township, like Brush Creek, was organized out of Knox, and includes within its bounds the very historically interesting territory just below the mouth of Yellow Creek, the site of Logan's camp in 1774, from which place his relatives were inveigled to the Virginia shore and killed, this being one of the movements in the conspiracy to incite the Indians against the American settlers, the result being Dunmore's War. The exact location of the camp is now believed to have been the site of the old McCullough mansion, a few yards south of the creek, and a few feet west of the river. Viewing the ground as it now lies, it is but natural to accept the statement that the house is on the site of Logan's camp. The ground is high with full view of a beautiful stretch of the river. Peace obtained among the Indians and whites at that time, and there was not the least necessity for a fortified location. Logan had no reason to even suspect harm to his relatives and followers when they crossed the river to the Greathouse cabin, at the instigation of the unconscious tools of Dr. Connelly. The prospect from Logan's camp must have been beautiful; it is inspiring to-day. This region was certainly attractive when Bouquet's army passed through to the Tuscarawas Valley, in October, 1764, for Hutchins mentions that the soldiers from Pennsylvania and Virginia were delighted with the richness of the soil.[34] The American soldiers going to and from Fort Laurens over the trail,

[34] On Thursday, the 11th [1764] the forest was open and so clear of undergrowth, that they [Bouquet's army on the way to the Tuscarawas] made seventeen miles. Friday, the 12th, the path led along the banks of Yellow Creek, thro' a beautiful country of rich bottom land on which the Pennsylvanians and Virginians looked with covetous eyes, and made a note for future reference. The next day they marched two miles in view of one of the loveliest prospects the sun ever shone upon. There had been two or three frosty nights, which had changed the whole aspect of the forest. Where, a few days before, an ocean of green had rolled away, there now was spread a boundless carpet, decorated with an

afterward the wagon road upon which Yellow Creek Valley wheat was hauled to the canal at the very edge of the old fort, must have made notes for future consideration; and this may all account for the early settlement of Saline. Fish and game were at hand and subsistence was not difficult to obtain. Nature was a most bountiful provider to the Pathfinders of the Yellow Creek country. Martin Saltsman, an early settler of Knox, in his lifetime made the statement that he would kill more than fifty deer in what is now Ross Township, in a hunt of a few days. The Indians were so enamored with Yellow Creek that they gave up these bountiful hunting grounds with reluctance.

While Jacob Nessley, Sr. (coming from the German settlements of Lancaster County, Pa.), did not settle on the Virginia side of the river until 1784, he was in this region much earlier, and of this fact he left an enduring monument. On the river bank, a short distance south of the mouth of Yellow Creek and in sight of the McCullough mansion, is an overhanging rock, upon which is carved "Jacob Nessley—1776." The tradition is, as related by William G. McCullough (a great grandson, 1899), that Jacob was prospecting in Virginia, and crossing the river to the Ohio side (Indian country) was chased by the Indians. Reaching this overhanging rock, he jumped into the river; he then dived and coming to the surface under the rock, he remained in hiding, and the Indians supposing him drowned, left him to his fate. As soon as the way was clear, he returned to Virginia, obtained a tool and cut his name and the date upon the surface of the rock as noted.

Samuel Vantilberg settled in what is now Saline Township in 1796; William McCullough about 1800; Jacob Nessley, Jr.,

endless variety of the gayest colors, lighted up by the mellow rays of an October sun. — Hutchins as re-written by Graham in the "History of Coshocton County."

There are peculiarities in the soil drained by Yellow Creek. The north side of the headwaters is sandy, including portions of Springfield township and the adjoining part of Carroll county, always noted as the peach belt. This region is called Sandy Valley by the historians. While much of the land is very rugged that portion of it is rich in minerals,— salt, coal, iron, potter's clay.

came earlier, perhaps, for he bought large tracts of Yellow Creek land from the United States Government, Jeremiah Hickman, James Rogers, the Crawfords, Jacob Groff, Charles Hammond (for whom Hammondsville was named), William Maple, Benjamin Maple, the father of Andrew Downer, and the Householders also came before the dawn of the century.

There were many more settlers near the mouth of Yellow Creek but the names are in oblivion. It is known that there was a very formidable blockhouse on a point immediately south of the creek's mouth, erected, perhaps, by squatters previous to 1784. While the site has been washed away, the foundation was seen by persons now (1899) living. This blockhouse, until very recently supposed to have been west of the creek's mouth, on Blockhouse Run, was so constructed on the first river bank that it was surrounded by water, and had command not only of the river, but likewise of a vast expanse of territory, the most natural point in all this region for defensive works.

As further evidence of the early presence of settlers it is only necessary to mention that, according to Tradition, an Irish master, named McElroy, taught a school in a log cabin at the mouth of Yellow Creek in 1800, and at about the same time there was a school on Pine Ridge; in 1804 there was one on Yellow Creek, above the site of Hammondsville. A stone hotel was built at the mouth of the creek, and when destroyed by fire two years ago (1897) the date of its erection (1803) was discovered carved in a chimney stone. The first road in the country was made from a point opposite Charles Town (Wellsburg) to Yellow Creek in 1804. It is possible that the masons who built the hotel also built the two stone-arch bridges, one over the mouth of Wills Creek, the other over the mouth of Island Creek, both doing service to-day. They are of the architecture of the bridges afterwards adopted for the National Pike. A stone school house was erected on the McCullough farm, and the supposition is, it was built by the masons who built the hotel and bridges, and consequently was the work of Pathfinders. As convincing evidence of the early building of this school it is stated that the Nessleys and McCulloughs not

only erected the building but supported the school, which, in a few years, rose to the dignity of an academy. Here Jacob Nessley McCullough was educated, and certainly from the world's point of view, he was the most successful native of the county, having accumulated ten millions of dollars before his death.

As has already been noted, the first religious services held in Saline Township were at the mouth of Yellow Creek. In 1800 the settlers organized a Methodist Episcopal society in Jeremiah Hickman's cabin. From this beginning grew other Methodist Episcopal Churches in this township; other communions were not early in this field. The first settlers, it is supposed, aside from the Nessleys and McCulloughs, came from Virginia and Maryland at the time Asbury, the missionary of Wesleyanism, had filled the people of those regions with the fire of religious enthusiasm, and it still glowed in the pioneers who settled in Saline. The same year a church of this denomination was organized in Sugar Grove (now as well as then, Knox Township), not far from Yellow Creek.

On the DeSellem farm, near Port Homer, are evidences of ancient fortifications as well as mounds, from which the owner has collected many relics of the stone age, including a carved stone column fifteen inches in height.

On Yellow Creek are remains of white pine forests destroyed by the Indians, who tapped the trees for rosin which they used for salve and to facilitate the kindling of fire. Of the evergreen trees indigenous to the rugged hillsides and deep ravines, that once echoed with the warwhoop of hostile savages, the hemlock only remains.

The product of the numerous distilleries, flour mills and salt wells, hauled to the mouth of Yellow Creek, and in after years also to Port Homer, the latter established by W. H. Wallace, a man of great business energy up to a few years ago, brought about an activity of trade on the water front of Saline Township that, if repeated to-day, would astonish the great grandsons of the Pathfinders. Flatboat building was then an important industry of itself, but linked with the milling, salt-

boiling and distilling, together with the hauling of the products on both sides of the river at this point, perhaps as many men were employed in industrial pursuits as now. At times the immense storehouses at these two points would be filled from basement to roof with the three main products, hundreds of men being constantly employed in handling. But to-day, aside from the fact that there are yet living on the scene of the activity of other days some of the heirs of the fortunes made, there remains no more evidence of the prosperous times than there is evidence of the industrial pursuits of the Indian and of his ancestor, the Mound Builder. The information in either case is largely traditional and conjectural. We do know this, that with less expenditure of nerve-force the fathers made greater fortunes than many of the sons are able to duplicate under the changed conditions which mark advanced civilization.

Knox Township, as at present constituted, is very small compared to the territory included in the call for election held on April 3, 1802, at the house of Henry Pittenger, "In conformity to an act of the General Assembly of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, entitled 'an act to establish and regulate township meetings,' passed on the 18th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1802." Other townships organized out of the territory left a township named for the first Secretary of War, only twenty-four sections of Township Eight of Range Two and fractional part of Township Four of Range One.

The geographical features of Knox Township are more like the primeval state than those of any other like civil division in the county, there having been little change in the original surface of the precipitous hillsides and dark ravine, at the bottom of which still flows the same clear stream—Hollow Rock, Carters, Jeremeys or Croxton's. It was on Carter's Run, at the (now) intersection of the roads from Knoxville and New Somerset to the Hollow Rock Campmeeting Grounds, that Michael Myers, in 1774, killed two Indians. This was shortly after he had aided Cresap to kill the two Indians in a canoe while acting as unconscious agents of Dr. Connelly who was devoted to the idea

(being a Tory) that if the Indians were incited to take the war-path, the agitation for American independence from the crown would cease, and it was his scheme to force the Indians to fight by using frontiermen whose hatred of the savage required but little urging to inflame it into the heat of war spirit. Myers was an easy victim of Connelly's machinations, and he was a notable factor in bringing about the Dunmore War. In a statement made by Myers in 1850, he gave an account of the affray to Lyman C. Draper, he then being about 105 years of age but in full possession of his mental faculty. In May, 1774, he crossed the Ohio River to a point near the mouth of Yellow Creek, in company with two other men, for the purpose of looking at the country. They went up the creek two or three miles and stopped at a spring (Hollow Rock) where they camped for the night. Having spancelled their horse they turned him loose to graze, and kindled a fire. Soon after they heard the horse's bell tinkling as though he were running rapidly. At first Myers suspected that a wolf had scared the horse, and, taking up his rifle, ran to the point of the hill, where he saw the horse standing still and an Indian stooping at his side, trying to loosen the spancels. Myers, without further investigation, shot the Indian; and as soon as he reloaded ran up the side of the hill and discovered a large number of Indians encamped. One Indian with a gun ran toward him, but kept his eyes on the horse. Myers immediately discharged his gun at the second Indian, and without knowing the result of the shot, wheeled and ran toward the spring, but he found his companions had left the camp. Myers returned to the Virginia side, where he found them. The next morning several Indians crossed to Virginia and inquired at the Baker cabin (where Logan's relatives were afterwards murdered) as to who had killed the two Indians the previous evening, but Greathouse (by whose name the Baker cabin is often called to this day) would not permit any one to give the Indians the least satisfaction. This, of course, added fuel to the fire. The encampment discovered by Myers, no doubt, was a part of the Logan camp. Myers always claimed that he was one of the party firing on the boat

load of Indians who crossed the river to investigate the murder of Logan's people.

The scene of this incident was very near the place where Henry Pittenger afterward settled—where Rev. William Pittenger, author of "Daring and Suffering," one of the most thrilling narratives of the War Between the States, was born, and within a mile of Sugar Grove Methodist Episcopal Church, in whose graveyard is buried the remains of one of the historically noted men of this county. The grave is marked by a very pretentious marble stone:

MICHAEL MYERS,
DIED AUGUST 11, 1852, AGED 107 YEARS.

Soldier, rest, thy warfare o'er;
Dream of battlefields no more.
All thy conflicts now are past;
To thy home thou'rt gone at last.

The remains of Katherine Stickler, his wife, are at his side, Mrs. Myers having died in 1861, at the age of ninety-six years. A son, William Myers, died in Toronto, April 19, 1899, aged eighty-eight years, and his wife, Cynthia Myers, died two months later. The Myers estate possesses the very venerable long rifle which did much execution in the hands of its owner. This rifle is a prototype of the weapon used not only by the Indian fighters but by the riflemen who won distinction in the Revolutionary War. This weapon was unknown in what was, and what is now, called the "tidewater" regions, where the inaccurate musket and shot-gun were employed. The long rifle was brought to the Pennsylvania frontier by the Swiss Germans, and of course found its way to Virginia, the Carolinas; and the bold men of the mold of Myers who ventured into the Indian country previous to the Revolutionary War, coming, as they did from Pennsylvania or the Virginia Valley (including Maryland), had this most effective arm. While the long rifle was very heavy, the physical training of the Pathfinders enabled them to handle it as readily as the light breech-loader of to-day. The great advantage of the rifle to the pioneer was its accuracy, thus saving ammunition, which was of vast importance. Even

the fifteen-year-old sons of the pioneers learned to bring in a piece of game for each bullet discharged, so unerring was the aim demanded. Such a sharp-shooter was Michael Myers. Such were the men with Morgan not only in Dunmore's War, but in many battles of the Revolution. Such was Cresap (a companion of Myers) and his company. Such were Brady, and the Wetzels. Such was Robert McClelland, whose cousins, Robert, John, Rutherford and William McClelland, settled in Knox. Such was Martin Swickard, a hero of the tragical Crawford Expedition, an early settler of Knox, whose body honors its soil. Without the long rifle and the men trained in the backwoods to handle it with the minimum waste of ammunition, the historian would have chronicled a very different account of the Revolutionary War than that of the triumph of American arms. We had the guns and the keen eyes to aim them.[35] The Myers rifle

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[35] The rifle at this time was a weapon unknown to New England, and unused in the eastern districts of the other colonies. The infantry arm of the period was a smooth-bore musket. . . . It was very inaccurate, and of short range. When Putnam gave the command at Bunker Hill, "Wait till you see the white of their eyes," he did so because the musket and shot-guns could not be relied upon to hit a man at much greater distance. The [long] rifle [such as Myers employed] had been introduced into Pennsylvania about 1700 by Swiss and Palatine immigrants, and was made by them at various border towns in that colony twenty to thirty years before the Revolution. Our frontiersmen, appreciating the superior accuracy of the grooved barrel, adopted the rifle at once, and improved upon the German model with such ingenuity that within a few years they had produced a new type of fire-arm, superior to all others, the American backwoods [long] rifle. . . . These rifles were used along the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas. So the call of Congress for riflemen was, in fact, a call for the backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies. . . . John Adams wrote to Gerry, after the resolution had passed, "These are all said to be exquisite marksmen, and by means of the excellence of their firelocks, as well as their skill in the use of them, to send sure destruction to great distances." It was plain enough that a corps of such sharp-shooters, hardy, indomitable, experienced in forest war, would be the right material to meet British regulars. . . . The call for riflemen reveals a subtler policy than appears on the surface — a policy no doubt suggested by the only man in Congress who knew the backwoodsmen

is six feet in length, and during his life-time he called it "Limber Jennie."

Sugar Grove graveyard is one of the oldest burying grounds in the county, and perhaps, the oldest in the northern portion, but the marked graves do not give the least clew to date of first burials. If the field-stones used to mark graves were ever carved

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like a brother, who had marched with them, camped with them, fought side by side with them — by Washington himself. . . . The readiness of the backwoodsmen to take up arms was in striking contrast to the state of affairs along the coast. Massachusetts had scarce a dozen serviceable cannon, and for half of these there was no ammunition. In the whole colony of New York there were only a hundred pounds of powder for sale. The men who hastily assembled at Cambridge, after the affair at Lexington, were enthusiastic but unruly. . . . But the men of the wilderness were always ready. Over every cabin door hung a well-made rifle, correctly sighted, and bright within from frequent wiping and oiling. Beside it were tomahawk and knife, a horn of good powder, and a pouch containing bullets, patches, spare flints, steel, tinder, whetstone, oil and tow for cleaning the rifle. A hunting-shirt, mocassins, and a blanket were near at hand. In case of alarm, the backwoodsman seized these things, put a few pounds of rockahominy and jerked venison into his wallet, and in five minutes was ready. It mattered not whether two men or two thousand were needed for war, they could assemble in a night, armed, accoutred, and provisioned for a campaign. . . . But the West had wars of its own to fight. The Indians, finding that the great barrier chain of the Alleghenies was no longer impregnable to the white invaders, grew desperate, and fought with redoubled fury. Moreover, one of the first acts of the British government, after the Revolution began, was to incite the savages to attack the colonies in the rear. . . . Yet, with characteristic generosity, riflemen were spared. The first men who marched to assist New England in her sore need were pioneers of the great West. . . . Volunteers had poured into the little recruiting stations in such numbers as to embarrass the officers, who fain would have been spared the duty of discriminating. One of these officers, beset by a much greater number of applicants than his instructions permitted him to enroll, and being unwilling to offend any, hit upon a clever expedient. Taking a piece of chalk, he drew upon a blackened board the figure of a man's nose, and placing this at such distance that none but experts could hope to hit it with a bullet, he declared that he would enlist only who shot nearest to the mark. Sixty-odd hit the nose. . . . The other Maryland company [there were two] was led by Michael Cresap, a famous border warrior,

with name and date the rude lettering long ago was obliterated by the elements. Many of these stones have sunken beneath the surface, and the luxuriant grass, briars and weeds rotting year after year for more than a century, make soil that adds to the depth of the stones that mark the graves of courageous Pathfinders long forgotten. On Timothy Ridge, in Ross

[a friend and companion of Michael Myers, the two coming to Jefferson county at about the same time, and were in the canoe together when the first Indians were killed, at the instigation of Dr. Connelly (or Conolly) on the water front of Jefferson county, the beginning of the Dunmore war, and really the first blood of the Revolution] whom Jefferson wrongly accused of killing the [relatives of] Indian chief Logan. . . . About two-thirds of the riflemen were of Scotch-Irish descent, and nearly all the remainder were "Pennsylvania Dutchmen" — that is to say, of Swiss or Palatine origin. Many of the Marylanders and Virginians were immigrants from Western Pennsylvania. [More likely from the Cumberland and Susquehanna valleys, long before Western Pennsylvania was settled.] The famous rifle corps which Morgan afterwards formed from marksmen picked from the whole army is usually referred to as "Morgan's Virginians," but as a matter of fact, two-thirds of them were Pennsylvanians, including a considerable number of Pennsylvania Germans. [Burgoyne at Yorktown declared this to be the finest regiment in the world.] . . . When Congress drew its first levies from the backwoods, it did not alone secure the services of the finest marksmen living. Something more was gained. It was the moral effect, upon the camp at Cambridge, of independence typified by flesh and blood, clad in American garb and wielding an American weapon. . . . The riflemen were at once employed as sharpshooters and kept the enemy continually in hot water. Heretofore the British outposts had been safe enough within stone's throw of the American lines, but they now found, to their cost, that it was almost certain death to expose their heads within two hundred yards of the riflemen. . . . In the British camp the riflemen were called "shirt-tail men, with their cursed twisted guns, the most fatal widow-and-orphan makers in the world." . . . The tactics of the backwoodsmen were essentially different from those practiced by the best military authorities. It was the rule of troops to attack in solid formation, reserving their fire till very close quarters. Bayonets were feared more than bullets. The standard infantry musket was very inaccurate and had no rear sight. The musketry instructions simply required each soldier to point his weapon horizontally, brace himself for the vicious recoil, and pull the ten-pound trigger till the gun went off. The idea was that, by dropping so many bullets in a given time upon a certain

Township, are the unmarked graves of twelve surveyors killed by the Indians during the War of 1812. To-day their names are unknown, but the place of burial has been kept sacred by successive occupants of the Hugh Leeper farm. "Old Mortality" could have found much work in this county where old

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area containing a given number of the enemy, so many men would probably be hit. But the backwoodsman was a hunter, who shot to kill. . . . The backwoodsman fought always as a skirmisher, taking advantage of every available cover. . . . The British regarded such tactics as "sneaking" and "cowardly." "Come out and fight in the open, like men," they would say. . . . The backwoodsmen were simply a century ahead of the times in their methods of war. The British themselves soon found it expedient to hire Indians and Hessian jägers to fight our sharpshooters, but neither of these mercenaries proved a match for the tall woodmen of the Alleghenies. . . . We have seen that the backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies were the first to formally threaten [Hanover and Hannastown Resolutions, the first, June 4, 1774] armed resistance against Great Britain, the first outside colonies to assist New England, the first troops levied by an American Congress, the first to use weapons of precision, and the first to employ the open order formation [inherited from Scotch forefathers] now universally prescribed. From the beginning to the end of the war these hardy pioneers were everywhere, doing the right thing at the right time, harrassing the enemy, picking off officers and artillerymen at long range, stubbornly holding their own in the line of battle, advancing to some forlorn hope, covering a retreat to save the army from disaster, or disappearing like magic before a superior force, only to reassemble for attack upon some unsuspecting outpost or detachment. Lithe, sinewy, and all-enduring, keen-eyed and nimble-footed, unencumbered with baggage, subsisting on next to nothing, making prodigious marches over rough mountains or through an ice-clad wilderness, they were men of heroic mould, admired alike by friend and foe. Coming straight from the absolute freedom of a primeval forest, they appreciated the reasons for military discipline, and submitted to it without a murmur. Always cheerful and ready for any undertaking, they were regarded by Washington himself as the corps d'elite of the Continental army. And in the darkest hour of the Revolution, when half the army was in open mutiny, the great commander, sick at heart but still indomitable, declared to his friends that if all others forsook him, he would retire to the backwoods and there make a final stand against Great Britain, surrounded by his old comrades of the wilderness. [Among these were the early settlers of Ohio.] — Horace Kephart in Harper's Magazine, May, 1899.

graveyards receive not the least care. Sugar Grove was used as a graveyard before the Methodist Episcopal Church of this name was established, the date of the latter being 1800. The belief that this church was founded by James B. Finley is error; Finley was not in Jefferson County before 1808. A school house was built near the log church the same year. There was a school known as "Shelleys," near Osage, established, as near as Tradition can fix the date, in 1800, and inasmuch as we know there were settlers in the neighborhood previous to that time, it is safe to assume that this date is correct. There is also a graveyard here supposed to be older than the school, and there was a Baptist church on the site as early as 1800, possibly earlier.

Richard Johnson (a German, and grandfather of Rezin Jonnson of Island Creek Township, and of S. E. Johnson, editor of The Cincinnati Enquirer) was also a companion of Myers, coming to this region first after the Revolution. He had been, at the age of fifteen, a captain in Braddock's army, and was a rifleman in the Revolutionary War, serving on Washington's staff. He was seven feet in height, and it was said of him that he could hit a fly across the river with his long rifle. He settled on what is now (1899) known as the Bustard farm, in Steubenville Township, in 1799. He was near a hundred years of age at his death, and at ninety was a physical stalwart. His son, Derrick, was a captain in the War of 1812.

The Bustard farm, on which Richard Johnson settled, is the scene of a skirmish between Virginia ginseng diggers, about 1785, in which ——— Anderson was killed. His companion, Josiah Davis, escaped a like fate by swift running.

Among the other riflemen acting as scouts in the territory now included in Jefferson County, were George Cox, John Haverstock, John and Thomas McDonald, Joseph Ross, Jacob Holmes, Joseph and William Huff, Augustine Bickerstaff and Richard Wells. In 1800, the last named, while at the foot of Market Street, Steubenville, shot an Indian on the other side of the river. All were expert with the rifle and it is safe to assume that most of these men were in the Revolutionary War.

Most of them afterward settled in this county and became very prominent as citizens. Michael Myers settled at the mouth of Croxton's Run, where he built a grist mill, kept a taven, ran a river ferry and was Justice of the Peace.

The Sugar Grove M. E. Church was organized in that part of Knox Township now Saline, by J. B. Finley, in 1800, with Charles Hale as class leader, the first members of the class being Jacob Nessley, Randall Hale, James Pritchard, Nathan Shaw, Joseph Elliott, Benjamin Elliott, Robert Maxwell, John Sapp, John Christian, Jacob Buttenburg, John Herrington.

The Knoxville United Presbyterian Church was organized by Rev. Samuel Taggart and John Donaldson in 1837, the first elders being Isaac Crafton, Samuel White, Gileod Chapman; Dr. Watt, J. Stokes and Isaac Grafton, Trustees.

The first Methodist Episcopal sermon delivered in Newburg (afterward Sloans, now Toronto) was in 1837, by Rev. J. M. Bray, who is now (1899) living at the age of ninety years. A church of this denomination was not regularly organized, however, until about forty years later.

The Knoxville Methodist Episcopal people held class meeting in a school house in 1830, with Henry Cooper as leader. Afterward Methodist Episcopal services were held in a brick church erected by the Presbyterians. This house having been destroyed by a storm, was rebuilt by the united efforts of the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian and United Presbyterian people, but in after years the Methodist Episcopal congregation erected a frame church 32x53 feet.

Rev. Joshua Monroe organized a Methodist Episcopal Church in New Somerset, in 1836, the first members being Mary Hartman, Susan Hartman, Catherine Saltsman Martin Saltsman (one of the first settlers of northern part of the county, and an expert rifleman), Jane Saltsman, Philip Saltsman, Delila Saltsman, Susanna Hulman, William Barcus, Hannah Barcus. The first ministers were: Joshua Monroe, John Minor, Dr. Adams, Philip Green, David Merryman, Simon Lock, Harry Bradshaw, J. C. Kent, Thomas Winstantly, Walter Athey, George McCaska(y), William Devinna, Edward Taylor, Wil-

liam Knox, A. H. Minor, Theophilus Nean, Chester Morrison, George Crook, R. L. Miller and John Wright (who reorganized the Knoxville Methodist Episcopal church after the question as to ownership of the joint church building in that village was settled).

The Disciples Church of New Somerset was organized by Rev. John Jackman in 1841, the first members being Matthias Swickard and wife, G. H. Pentius and wife, Joseph Marshall and wife, Daniel Householder and wife, John Billman and wife, Hannah Zeatherberry, Jennet McGee, Emily Coffman and Mary Householder. The first regular minister was Charles Van Vorhes, followed by John Jackman, Mahlon Martin, Eli Regal, Cornelius Finney, Thomas Dryal, J. M. Thomas, J. D. White, Mason Ferry, J. A. Wilson, Robert Chester, D. O. Thomas. A brick church (28x40) was erected the year after the organization; and the influence of Alexander Campbell is still potent in Knox Township.

Knoxville was laid out by Henry Boyle in 1816, and in the same year, one of wonderful activity in town building, Baltzer Culp laid out New Somerset. Newburg (Sloans, now Toronto), was laid out by John Depuy in 1818, on a portion of the land given Michael Myers as reward for services as an Indian scout, and his son, Michael, kept the first hotel. Joseph Kline was the first merchant and James Toland the first blacksmith.

Among the first settlers of Knox Township were: Thomas McLean, John Edminston, Charles Watt, Robert McClellan, James Alexander, George Culp, John Bray, Martin Swickard (with Crawford in the Sandusky Expedition).

The early history of Wells Township belongs to Warren, out of which Wells was created in 1823, and the two townships, now civil divisions of Jefferson County, made of the original Warren Township, should, perhaps, be treated as one in a story of the Pathfinders, but as the data collected recognize township lines as now marked, the compiler follows the map. Wells has the distinction of being partly composed of fractions of Township One of Range One, although within its lines is Township Five of Range Two. Wells was named for Bezaleel Wells, the

son of Alexander Wells and Leah (Owings) Wells, one of the founders of Steubenville and for whom Wellsburg was named, he having resided in that village and at one time was Clerk of Brooke county.

The settlement of Wells Township was early. It is known that a blockhouse was erected at the mouth of Blockhouse Run, below Brilliant, perhaps in 1790, for the protection of settlers, as the Indians considered this their country up to the Wayne Treaty of 1795. The erection of this blockhouse has been taken as evidence of large early settlement; but this is questioned, for there is tradition to the effect that this fortification was a small cabin with gun-holes, built by Daniel Scamehorn and Henry Nations, the first settlers. There may have been others who took advantage of the blockhouse, but as to this the compiler has no means of verification. In 1793 both Nations and Scamehorn were captured by the Indians and killed. It was near this point that a Mr. Riley, two sons and a daughter were, in 1784, surprised by Indians and murdered. (See page 183.)

Among the first settlers whose names are still preserved, were: Daniel Scamehorn, Henry Nations, Philip Doddridge (the founder of Brilliant), Thomas Taylor, Henry Oliver, Ebenezer Spriggs, John Barret (settled in 1799 and was appointed Justice of the Peace by the Governor holding the office for thirty-eight years, and as Justice he performed the first marriage ceremony in this part of the county), John Jackson, (miller), Daniel Tarr (soldier of the War of 1812), Smiley H. Johnston (a descendant, in direct line, of Oliver Cromwell), Joseph Hook, Samuel Dean, James Everson, William Roe, Nathaniel Dawson, William Louiss, Robert Shearer, E. Willet, John Putney, John Armstrong, Archibald Armstrong, ——— Sprague, James Davis, James Moore, John Burns, Gideon Goswell, Israel Cox, Henry Swearingen, Ira Dalrymple, J. McCulley, Amos Parsons, John Rickey, Jacob Zoll, Benjamin Linton, Matthew Thompson, Harden Wheeler, Joseph Rose, Henry Hicks, John Jacks, the Doughertys, Milhollands, Grahams.

Philipsburgh (afterward LaGrange, now Brilliant), so called in honor of the founder, was laid out by Philip Doddridge

in 1819, on land purchased from James Ross. It was not only an attractive site for a town, the river bottom at this point being wide and backed by beautiful, sloping hills, but it was a very important location from commercial point of view. In the early times all roads led "to a point on the Ohio River opposite Charles Town," and at this point Philipsburg was built. The early records make frequent mention of roads building from all directions to intersect this one very important thoroughfare; important in the fact that great droves of cattle were brought over it on the way to the eastern markets, crossing the river here. Philipsburg was also a shipping point for flour and whisky, large quantities of these products having been hauled over the Charles Town (Wellsburg) road from long distances back in the country to the river for shipment in flatboats to points on the Mississippi. Before the town was laid out there was accommodation for man and beast at the ferry-landing. The first tavern was kept by Matthew Thompson and Nathan Dawson, the latter having charge of the bar, apparently the most important adjunct of the pioneer hostelry. So-called temperance hotels were opened in opposition to Thompson's but none were successful; Thompson himself at one time discarded the bar and called his house Tempo Tavern, but the experiment resulted in failure. The action of a hotel proprietor could not change the appetites of his customers. Nathan Dawson (mentioned above) served as President of the Board of Trustees for many years, evidence that the Pathfinders did not ostracise those engaged in the sale of intoxicants. Philip Doddridge built a hotel immediately after he laid out the town. The building was purchased by James H. Moore, who not only conducted the tavern, but was postmaster after 1822. Harden Wheeler and Joseph Rose opened a store the same year.

There were schools in this territory long before Warren Township was divided; but on September 1, 1826, the trustees of Wells Township (John Barret, Thomas Taylor and Belford Griffith), met at the house of the clerk, R. A. Sherrard (son of John Sherrard who was in the Crawford Sandusky Expedition), the clerk was instructed to divide the township into seven dis-

tricts, which was done as follows: No. 1, Point Finley; No. 2, Middle School; No. 3, Jefferson; No. 4, Adams; No. 5, Monroe; No. 6, Center; No. 7, LaGrange. Other districts were organized later.

The first election was held at the home of the widow McAdams, April 1, 1823, when David Humphrey, Archibald Armstrong and Richard Sperrier were selected Trustees; R. A. Sherrard, Clerk; John McAdams, Treasurer.

The excellence of the water power of Wells Township alone is evidence of early industrial activity that long ago was hidden from the present by oblivion. We only have knowledge of the fact that John Jackson erected a flour mill on McIntyre Creek (so called because a man named McIntyre was killed on this stream by Indians, in what is now Wayne Township, in 1792, and his remains were buried under a hickory tree at the headwaters) in 1808, but inasmuch as there were settlers (called squatters) as early as 1784, it is safe to say that mills had been in operation and worn out before Jackson built his mill, but definite information cannot be obtained. Benjamin Linton who came from Maryland, operated an early mill and distillery on Salt Run and continued this business with marked success for many years.

The Old Tent Presbyterian Church (now Center) is one of the historical land-marks of Wells Township. The first meetings that resulted in the organization of one of the first churches of any denomination in the Northwest Territory, were held at the house of John Armstrong, in what is now Wells Township, at the beginning of 1800. Who the minister was is not now known. In 1803 meetings were held in a tent from which fact the church is yet called the Tent Church, getting the name Center from a town laid out in after years, but the town never got beyond the blacksmith-shop and hotel stage, although the "annual musters" were held on the site, it being almost midway between Warrenton, Smithfield and Mt. Pleasant. The date of the first church building is also lost, most probably the following year, for there must have been a large increase of Presbyterian population at that time, the first settlers of the im-

mediate vicinity now having had time to inform their friends in Pennsylvania of the beauty of the country and superior soil. The deed for the property, however, was not made until 1826. This property, including graveyard, was conveyed to the trustees by John Jackson. A Scotchman named Robinson was the first minister of whom there is the slightest memory. John Armstrong, at whose house the first services were held, was the first to be buried in the churchyard, the date of interment being July 16, 1810.

Several years ago Sam Huston, the County Engineer, while superintending road work, found in an undisturbed glacial gravel bed, two and one-half miles below Brilliant, in Wells Township, a gert stone knife, one of the oldest relics known to man, creating wide interest in the archæological world. Thousands of fine specimens of stone implements have been, and are daily, found on the surface, between Mingo and Yorkville.

The organization of Wells Township left Warren only a small portion of its former territory, and it now consists of fractional Township Four of Range Two. Had Township One of Range One of the survey, known as the Seven Ranges, been complete, the line would have extended six miles east of Warrenton (taking in the width of the river) or to the Pennsylvania line, thus making Warren Township of geographical interest.

On account of early settlement Warren Township ought to be the most interesting township from historical point of view in Ohio, but data as to the activities of the Pathfinders are so fragmentary that the compiler is almost discouraged in efforts to put them together. Warren Township has the distinction of having been settled earlier than Marietta, and the settlers were good, substantial people, although they were stigmatized as "squatters" by the Federal Government in 1785. These people were real settlers in the sense that they had built cabins and blockhouses and cultivated crops for subsistence. They possessed horses, for we know John Carpenter, after making a clearing in 1781, on the site of Portland, took two horses to Fort Pitt, with which to convey salt; we know that a son of John Tilton was killed by Indians while up Short Creek after

his father's cows. We know they had houses, for Ensign Armstrong and Col. Butler sent out to dispossess these settlers, make report (1785) that they had not only driven them off, but had destroyed their cabins. They were religious people, perhaps to a greater degree than were the people who settled Marietta, coming, as they did, from those parts of Maryland and Virginia where Bishop Asbury labored so successfully that he made comparison in his journal of the strong religious feeling of the Southern people with the absolute lack of it in New England. So religious, in fact, were these settlers on the bottom lands of Jefferson County—Mingo Bottoms, extending from what is now Mingo Junction, to the present southern line of the county—that Col. Butler reported that they were great fanatics. We know also, that Rev. George Callahan[37] held the first Methodist Episcopal services in the Northwest Territory, 1787, at Carpenter's Fort. The settlers driven off, having no other place to settle, Virginia being taken, they returned after the soldiers had gone, and we find them gathered about a minister two years after. The magnificent prospect of the fertile soil and luxuriant growths of the bottom land were too attractive for the Pathfinders to give it up. In order to avoid possible rediscovery by the troops, and perhaps, also, to escape the miasma in the river bottom, many took to the hills, following Short Creek to its headwaters, where (near New Athens) as early as 1784 Joseph Huff's family planted an apple orchard. Had Marietta such evidences of settlement before 1784?

John Tilton and family (his wife being Susannah Jones) came from Maryland and located, with others, on the site of

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[37] In one of his most able biographical sketches, published from time to time in The Lancaster (O.) Gazette, C. W. L. Wiseman makes mention (July 15, 1899:. "The Holmes Family,") of Rev. George Callahan: "Rev. George Callahan, a farmer and Methodist preacher, lived in this neighborhood, [Union township, Licking county] many years. His wife was a Wells. He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1766, and died in Jersey township, Licking county, in 1839. He was the first circuit rider in Western Pennsylvania, and in 1785 [1787] crossed the Ohio and preached at Carpenter's fort."

Tiltonville, in 1784. They built cabins and a blockhouse, and cultivated the ground. John Carpenter had settled above and was living in a cabin, afterward enlarged to a fort,[36] the exact location of which is unknown, three different possible sites being conjectured, one at the mouth of the creek, one against the hill on the north side of the creek and west of the Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad; the other, the most plausible of the three, viewing the necessities of the builder with the eye of the present, is the south bank of the creek, near the stone house of Wil-

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[36] It [Carpenter's fort] was built in the Summer of 1781, by John Carpenter, who resided at the time on Buffalo Creek, some miles east of the Ohio River. In his hunting expeditions he was in the habit of crossing to the west side of the river for the purpose of hunting game along the Short Creek valley, when he determined to be the first to get possession of these lands [Short Creek valley,] which everybody believed would in due time belong to the United States. He determined to take the risk, which he did, by building a cabin and clearing off a piece of ground ready for planting corn the next season. But not thinking it safe to remove his family across the river, he took a couple of horses across and started to Fort Pitt for the purpose of getting a supply of salt, which they were compelled to carry across the country on pack horses. On the way he was captured by a band of Wyandotts and taken to the Moravian towns [on the Tuscarawas] where his dress was changed for an Indian outfit, and was then taken to Sandusky, where he was kept a prisoner until the following Spring, when he escaped and made his way to Fort Pitt, from where he returned to his family, which he removed across the river to his improvement [near the mouth of Short Creek] he had made the previous Summer. One day while at work in his own patch he was fired on by an Indian from the adjoining woods and severely wounded. The Indian attempted to scalp him, but was drawn off by Carpenter's wife, a stout, resolute woman, who went to his assistance and made such a vigorous resistance that her husband escaped into his cabin, and the Indian fled.

After Col. Williamson's unfortunate expedition, which resulted in the massacre of the Moravian [Delaware] Indians, and the destruction of their towns on the Tuscarawas, a court of inquiry was called at Fort Pitt to investigate his conduct. John Carpenter was summoned as a witness on behalf of the accused, and identified his clothing as that found by Williamson in possession of the Moravians, poving a valuable witness for the officer. — Supposed to have been written by the late Joseph McCleary, Esq.

liam Stringer (built by John B. Bayless in 1838). James Maxwell had built a cabin about 1772, certainly previous to Dunmore's War, at the mouth of Rush Run. George Carpenter, afterward a son-in-law of John Tilton, built a blockhouse below the mouth of Rush Run in 1785.

In the graveyard at Tiltonville, known as the Indian Mound Cemetery, is the grave of Susannah, wife of John Tilton, there being a monument to her memory, the inscription noting that she had "departed this life October 15th, 1838: aged 88 yrs. 9 mo & 20 Days." Near this stone, only a few months ago was one over the grave of Susannah, her daughter, bearing the death-date of 1792, but the stone has since disappeared. Near the grave of Mrs. Tilton is that of Elizabeth Morrison, the inscription on the stone giving the date of death as September 18, 1798, and her age seventy-three years. Mrs. Tilton was the mother of seventeen children, among them Joseph, Caleb and two named John, one son of this name having been killed by Indians, the other was named for him. Caleb was born on the site of Tiltonville in 1785. William Stringer is a descendant of John Tilton, his mother having been a daughter of Joseph Tilton. A great-great-great grandson of John and Susannah Tilton (to William and Minnie (Stringer) O'Brien) was born Friday, July 7, 1899, on the site (or near the site) of Fort Carpenter, and but a few yards from the corner of Township One of Range One, on the land given Ephraim Kimberly by the Government, the conveyance being the first deed recorded in Jefferson county.

The foot of Hoge's hill, where the Short Creek (now Mt. Pleasant) Presbyterian Church was organized in 1798, and where Joseph Anderson was ordained the same year, is in this township. Not only this—it is the belief of many, and there is basis for this belief, that Hopewell Methodist Episcopal Church, situated on Warren Ridge (between Rush Run and Short Creek), four miles west of the river, is the oldest Methodist Episcopal Church organized and built in the Northwest Territory.

It has been shown that the first Methodist Episcopal services in the territory were held within a short distance of the site of Hopewell, in 1787. The settlers were of this denomination. After they were driven off by the Federal troops they returned, many of them going up the creeks to the ridges; and it was most natural action for them to continue religious services; therefore it is not mere conjecture to state that a house of worship was soon erected, being but a few days' work for experienced woodmen to build a house of logs. The old church was only a few feet from the present building, and the church-yard is filled with graves whose marks testify to very early burials. The older stones (flag-stones from the neighborhood) are now beneath the surface, and when exposed by excavating about them, show neither date nor name, although some have initials very crudely scratched with the point of a hunting knife, evidently. One of these found by Miss Jones, daughter of Thomas T. Jones, a descendant of an early settler, in 1899, bore the date of 1799. She made no note of the fact, but the date was impressed upon her mind because she was a student of local history and was examining the gravestones with view of obtaining basis for fixing the date of the church's establishment. Bishop Matthew Simpson, in a biographical sketch, mentions that his grandfather, Jeremiah Tingley, settled on Short Creek in 1801, and that the family attended Hopewell Church. The old log building had a neatly constructed gallery in it, certainly built long after the church was erected, and men now eighty-five years of age, with good memory back to childhood, declare that the gallery was an old structure then. There were Methodist Episcopal ministers in this neighborhood in 1794, as in that year "Samuel Hitt and John Reynolds came upon the site of Steubenville and preached a few sermons amidst much opposition." We know there were Methodist Episcopal people on Warren Ridge with ability to erect a church; there were ministers in the neighborhood, and it seems beyond dispute that Hopewell was built at least as early as 1798, two years before Holmes Church, which has claimed the distinction as the first Methodist Episcopal Church built northwest of the Ohio; and

Tradition says, that in the early days, there being close association by inter-marriage of members of the two congregations, as well as by blood and ties of friendship, much rivalry obtained as to which of the two churches was the older, with the argument always in favor of Hopewell.

The Oliver Methodist Episcopal Church, between Hopewell and Smithfield, was established in 1800, and Good Intent Church and McKendrie Chapel, the two latter on the Rush Run side of Warren Ridge, were established later.

Rev. Nicholas Worthington (uncle of Mrs. William Medill of Tiltonville), whose father was one of the first settlers of the Beech Bottoms, on the east side of the river, preached at all of these churches in early manhood and entertained Lorenzo Dow and Bishop Asbury in the first half of the century. He is now (1899) living in Bridgeport at the age of ninety, but too feeble to give information of these early churches.

Ebenezer Liston (father of Thomas Liston, living in Tiltonville (1899) at the age of ninety, and who remembers seeing James B. Finley at his father's house just below Tiltonville) was one of the early Methodist Episcopal Ministers of this region. Thomas Liston was a flatboat builder when that industry, allied with milling, was the greatest industrial factor of the county. The water-front of Warren Township in the early days was such a scene of industrial activity that has not obtained since the building of steamboats and railroads. Then hundreds of skilled mechanics were employed day and night in constructing boats to convey to the Southern markets the products of the many flour mills and distilleries on the creeks. On the river-front there were immense warehouses, filled from basement to roof with flour and other products of grain, ready for shipment to Southern ports. Hence the name Portland, in which village still stand three-story warehouses, as evidence of former prosperity. It is said by persons still living that in the first quarter of the century and up to 1850, one standing at any point on Short Creek could see, at any hour of the day, as many as thirty four- and six-horse wagons, on the way to the river loaded, or returning empty.

Among the early millers were: Joseph Tilton, —— Nichols, William Smith, Robert Patterson, James Hodgens, Joseph West, John C. Bayless (had two stone mills on Short Creek), John Bone, the Sherrads. Of the early boat-builders only a few remain in the memory of the living: Thomas Liston, Joseph Large, Nathan Borran, Stephen King, James Attis, Nathaniel Sisco, Charles Wilson, John Driant, Joseph Hall. Charles Noble was a wagoner.

Joseph and Ralston McKee operated a three-story stone woolen mill (50x100) four miles at Short Creek, at which was manufactured Persian and common cloth and the finest woolen blankets ever made in Ohio.

Among the early settlers were: John Tilton, Joseph Tilton, James Johnson (father of the heroic Johnson boys), James Perdue, John Russell, James Maxwell, John Carpenter, George Carpenter, William and Joseph Pumphrey, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Sprague, Joseph Dorsey, William Rowe, Capt. Daniel Peck (soldier of the War of 1812), Joseph McKee, Solomon Schemehorn, William Lewis, Jeremiah Tingley, John McCormick, John Humphrey, James Reilly, John Patterson, Solomon Lisby, Joseph Chambers, Adam McCormick, Erasmus Beckett, John Bowne, Charles Oliver, John B. Bayless, Richard Haythorne (on whose farm, near Hopewell Church, the two Johnson boys escaped from the Indians), James Hodgens, William Smith, Moses Kimbal, Charles Jones, Joseph Medill, Martin Becket, Henry Brindley, Enas Kimberly (the first County Recorder), Robert McCleary, Charles Kimbal, Benedict Wells, George Humphrey, John McElroy, Alexander and James McConnell, David Rush, David Barton, John Winters, Samuel Patton, James Campbell, John Edwards, Peter Snedeker, John Henderson, Robert and William McCullough, Joseph Moore, John Dawson.

The settlers on the river front of Warren Township had a regularly organized government with seat at Mercer Town in 1785, and John Carpenter and Charles Norris were Justices.

Warrenton was laid out by Enas Kimberly in 1802, but there was a considerable settlement at this point long before

the tract was divided into town lots, and there is record of an agreement made by Zenas Kimberly (February, 1799) with possible lot buyers in Warrenton. Tiltonville was laid out in 1806 by John Tilton. Zenas Kimberly was granted ferry license at Warrenton in 1798, and John Tilton was granted a like license at Tiltonville in 1797. These records alone give evidence of very early settlements.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was organized at Tiltonvile in 1825; previous to this date the adherents of this denomination attended services in the neighborhood.

During the year 1798 two Indians became intoxicated with liquor bought at tavern on the site of Warrenton, and returning to their camp, on the creek above Portland, were followed by a party of white men who saw them drinking, and being in a drunken stupor, both Indians were killed without the least defensive effort. The bodies were buried, and years after the bones were plowed up by the Stringers, who own the land.

Portland, in the early days, was a drover's stopping place, cattle from the back country for the Eastern market being driven here because of the fact that in certain seasons the river was fordable, and thus expense of ferryage was saved.

FIRST PURCHASERS OF LAND.

After the survey of the first seven ranges by the Federal Government the lands were offered for sale in New York in 1787, and the sales were afterward continued in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In 1801 a land office was opened in Steubenville.[38] Much of the land was bought by speculators, who after-

[38] The land sales in New York continued two years — from 1787 to 1789 — in which portions of the territory were sold in townships and sections, and in which very few actual settlers participated. These sales were known as the Coffee House Sales. Soldiers of the Revolutionary War who made settlement even previous to Dunmore's war, were ousted. We know that John McKinley, who settled at the mouth of Indian Wheeling Creek and then united with the Virginia Line, and was with Crawford at Sandusky, was captured with Crawford and met death by decapitation, had no claim in the land office for the property that seemed to belong to his heirs. The aggregate returns from the New York sales

ward disposed of their holdings to settlers. The records in the Jefferson County Recorder's office show very few of the government deeds, but it was not necessary to have the deeds recorded both by the Land Registrar and County Recorder. The names of first purchasers following are taken from Book A of the county records, and are given because they represent many of the Pathfinders:

1788. United States Government to William Linn, to William Bowne (three tracts), to Isaac Craig, to Robert Johnson (four tracts), to John D. Mercier, John Crawford; Samuel Holden Parsons to Moses Cleaveland (the site of Cleveland).

1789. United States Government to John Hopkins, to William Duer, Joseph Hardy, George Carpenter (settled in Warren Township in 1785) to Jacob Miller, William Duer to Nathan McFarland, Joseph Hardy to John Johnson.

1790. James Gray to Thomas Leiper, John and Joseph Scott to Richard Platt.

1791. Robert Kirkwood to John McKnight.

1792. John Hopkins to William Duer, James McMillen to John Waggoner.

1794. United States Government to Ephraim Kimberly (the first deed recorded in Jefferson County).

1795. William Duer to Laben Bronson, John D. Mercier to Jacob Croes.

1796. William Linn to Bezaleel Wells, Jacob Martin to Dunham Martin, Isaiah Linn to Jacob Nessley, William Bowne to Jacob Nessley, Bezaleel Wells to Jacob Nessley, Thomas Edgington to Ahasel Edgington, Earnest Matthew to Andrew

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amounted to $72,974. In 1796 the sales were made in like manner in Philadelphia and Pittsburg. In the first city the returns were $5,120; in the second, $43,446. Sales were continued until July 1, 1800, when under the act of May 10, 1800, a land office was opened in Steubenville. Land offices were also opened in Marietta, Chillicothe and Cincinnati. After the lands were surveyed into townships they were divided into two-mile blocks, among the surveyors of the latter being Eli Schoefield, Alexander Holmes, Zaccheus Biggs. Among the surveyors who divided the lands into sections and quarters were, Alexander Holmes, Levi Barker, Benjamin Hough, Philip Green, Benjamin Stickney.

Woods, Obadiah Hardeslay to Henry Lingo, William Hill to Thomas Edgington, same to John McCullough.

1797. William Hill to Ebenezer Zane, Dr. Robert Johnston to John D. Mercier, the same to Absalom Martin, the same to John Connell, Jacob Nessley to Adam Kendig, Isaac Taylor to Abraham Cuppy, Bezaleel Wells to Peter Sunderland.

1798. Addison Alexander to William Stoaks, Abner and Jesse Barker to James Alexander, Laben Bronson to Isaac Cowgill, same to George Cookes, same to Hugh McCoy, Robert Caldwell to James Marshall, *John Carpenter to *George Carpenter, Jacob Croes and A. Ridgely to Thomas and Joseph McCune and James West, Thomas Edginton to Ahasel Edginton, William Engle to David Edwards, William Hill to David Swearngen, Dr. Robert Johnston to Thomas Edginton, same to William Wells, Zenas Kimberly to purchasers of lots in Warren, Absalom Martin to *William Bailey, John D. Mercier to William Bailey, same to Daniel Harris, John McCullough to James MacMahan, Moses McFarland to Stephen Miller, Jacob Miller to Henry Miller, Stephen Miller to George Miller, James Marshall to Isaac Meek, Jacob Nessley to Christian Kendig, same to John Nessley, same to Jacob Nessley, jr., James Ross to Solomon Fisher, William Skinner to Sarah Chambers, *John Tilton to Jacob Croes, William Skinner to Z. Scigg and others, same to *Joseph Tilton, United States to Isaac Craig, David Vance to William Vance, Williams Wells to *James Clark, Bezaleel Wells to William Sharon, same to Henry McGarrah, to William Atkinson, to Zenas Kimberly, to the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas (site for Court House), to William Smith, Hans Wilson, James Bryan, Valentine Ault, Thomas Tipton, Abraham Lash, James Wood, James Bailey, Zephaniah Beal, jr., Robert Meeks, Alexander McClean, James Eagleson, *George Atkinson, Jacob Moore, David Williams, Allen Stewart, William Ingle, John Roland, Samuel Meeks, Jacob Repshire, James McGowan, Samuel Hunter, Thomas Atchison, John McNight, William Clark, Abel Johnson, William Johnson, Archibald Allison.

1799. Laben Bronson to Stephen Miller, same to Josiah

Dillon, to George Cookes, to Robert and Caleb Russell, John Perry, Zephaniah Beall, jr., to Peter Pugh, *John Carpenter to John Humphrey, Robert Caldwell to James McMillen, same to Samuel Osborn, same to Josiah Reeves, to John Jackson, George Cookes to Joshua Hatcher, same to Elijah Martin, Joseph Dorsey to Jonathan Nottingham, George Edginton to William Engle, Thomas Edginton to Daniel Arnold, same to Moses Coe, to Joseph Gladden, to William Hill, John Rowland to William Hill, Zenas Kimberly to Peter Kellar, same to Richard Ball, to Stephen Miller, Evan Philip, Joshua Hatcher, John McIntire to Samuel Adams, Richard Newsam to William Speer, James Pritchard to William Sloan, James Ross to James Lockard, Jacob Repshire to Richard Newsam, Jane Ross to Bezaleel Wells, Robert Troup to Daniel McElherrah, same to William Griffith, to William Smith, to John Simmonson, Bezaleel Wells to John Ward, Peter Snider, Rezin Beall, Archibald Woods to Ebenezer Zane, B. Wells to John Milligan, same to Samuel Hunter, William Wells to James Clark, Bezaleel Wells to House Bentley, to Jacob Repshire, to Henry Maxwell, John Meddigh to Thomas Haselet, James Hervey, James Shane.

1800. Ezekiel Boggs to Alexander Boggs, Col. Thomas Butler to Amos Wilson, Isaac Craig to Thomas Fawcett, James Cosenhover to James Ross, Francis Douglas (sheriff) to Zenas Kimberly (the first sheriff's deed), Joseph Dorsey to Hugh McConnaghey, Thomas Edginton to George Alban, same to Daniel Viers, Jesse Fulton to Nicholas Teale; Robert Johnston to Francis Douglas, same to John D. Mercier, same to John Miligan, Zenas Kimberly to *John Buchannan, John Meddagh to James Brandon, Stephen Miller to Neal Mahon Daniel McElherran to Stephen Kukyendoll, Olcott Nathaniel to John Johnson, Boyldwin Parsons to Adam Synder, same to Thomas Harper, Peter Pugh to John Robertson, John Skinner to John Shaffer, same to Henry Christman, Bezaleel Wells to Jacob Miller, same to William Boggs, to Nicholson Bousman to Cunnigham Sample, to Abraham Clements, Alexander Young,

* The names marked with asterisk represent settlers here previons to 1785.

David and Benjamin Newell (founders of St. Clairsville), Hans Wilson, Stephen Ford, Matthew Adams.

1801. House Bently to David Williamson, John Connell to John Kerr, John Carpenter to Henry Brindley, Joseph Dorsey to Andrew and Robert Moodie, same to James Crow, Thomas Edginton to Goudy's heirs, same to Richard Jackman, same to Abraham Barr, Solomon Fisher to James Heaton, John Johnson to Richard Johnson, Stephen Kuykendoll to Thomas Richards, Zenas Kimberly to William McMunn, Peter Kinshale to William Shields, Elijah Martin to Joseph Arwin, Daniel McElherran to Arthur Elbert, Joshua Mersereau to Samuel Saloman, David Newell to Samuel Hatcher, same to William Smyth, to Knox & Wilson, Samuel Osburn to John Armstrong, John Potts to Robert Johnston, William Sharran to House Bently, Joseph Townsend to Horton Howard, Nathan Updegraff to the same, Bezaleel Wells to Andrew McMechan, to James Wood, David Hoge, Thomas Vincent.

1802. Rezin Beall to Martin Snider, James Brandon to Margaret Cuppy, Thomas Beck to Robert McCleary, William Clark to Rezin Beall, Stephen Carton to Joseph Pumphrey, Joseph Dorsey to Jasper Murdock, William Engle to Andrew Betz, to John Edginton, to Mason Metcalf, to Joseph Lewis, David Edwards to James Reed, John Edgington to William Ingle to William Abrams, Levi Joans to John Dunkin, Robert Johnston to William Whitcraft, Abel Johnson to Barnard Wintringer, Adam Kendig to John Graff, Zenas Kimberly to John Humphreys, Joseph Lewis to John Galbraith, Daniel McElherran to Henry Watt, Robert Meeks to John Williams, Christian Smith to Boggs and Beatty, William Sharron to John Moore, Jonathan Taylor to Joseph Potts, Nathan Harper and others, Daniel Turner to Daniel McElherran, John Ward to Obadiah Jennings, Bezaleel Wells to Valentine Smith, Jonathan Taylor to *William Wallace, Benjamin Doyle, Francis Mitchell, Alexander Young to John Smuns.

1803. Matthew Adams to Patrick McCraig, Archibald Allison to Samuel McCollom, Thomas Bendure to William Bendure, John Bever to Sampel Dorrans, Daniel Collins to Thomas

Gray, Isaas Craig to Constance Murdock, Richard Cook to John Wilkison, Joseph Dorsey to John McElroy, Thomas Edgington to Peter Coe, to Samuel Edwards, John Fergison to Andrew Dickey, John Galbraith to David Hull, Thomas Hortel to Joseph Wallace, George Humphreys to William Brownlee, George Heip to Dennis Cassat, John Johnson to Andrew Ferrier, James Lucas to John McGuire, Thomas Leiper to Michael Castner, to Daniel Tradway, same to Moses Ross, Thomas Kells to Ferrier, Thomas McNary to William Kinney, Joshua Merseveau to Abraham Riddle, Thomas McNary to James Sinkey, John McGuire to Barnhard Wintringer, Daniel McElherran to William Brown, same to William Gillispie, Boyldwin Parsons to Benjamin Miller, Nathaniel Randolph to John Shimphin, John Stotts to James Vanater, John Frayer to Joseph Updegraff, Bezaleel Wells to Abraham Crozier, to George Mahon, James Lucas, Alexander Snodgrass, Robert Abrams, Reuben Bailey, Augustine Bickerstaff, Abraham Risher, John Wilkinson to Benjamin Rutherford, Bezaleel Wells to Martin Andrews, John Galbraith, Charles King, William Welch to Thomas Wells.

1804. Col. Thomas Butler to Amos Wilson, John Broome to Jacob McKinney, Robert Lee, Robert Carithers to Jesse Thomas, same to John Thomas, Peter Coe to James McElroy, Benjamin Doyle to Robert Brownfield, jr., Francis Douglas, Sheriff, to Titmothy Spencer, Thomas Edington to Alexander Thompson, John Forshey to Benjamin Montgomery, James Farquhar (record of his name and progenitors), David Hull to John Williams, Howard Horton to Nathan Harper, Aaron Hoagland to Samuel Conaway, Richard and Armstrong Jackman to William, Richard, Thomas and Adam Jackman, Robert Johnson to George Humphrey, Zenas Kimberly to John Horlseng, Daniel McElherran to Thomas Halea, Joseph Pumphrey to George Backhurst (for the use of meeting house), same to Elias Pegg, Elias Pegg (covenant with Joseph Melholim), same to Silas Pumphrey, Jane Patterson (administrator) to Michael Harmon, James Reed to Abraham Cozier, Benjamin Rutherford to Thomas Wilson, Samuel Tipton and Mary McGuire (contract), Bezaleel Wells to Archibald Richmond, Robert Mc-

Cleary, Robert Boden, Alexander Snodgrass, John Brooks, John Robertson, Jacob Cable, Jacob Cox, David Powell, William Porter, Mary McGuire, Joseph Hobson, Amos Wilson to William Jackman, sr.

1805. John Adams to Morgan Vanmeter, same to Robert and Andrew Moodie, to James Reeves, to Absalom Elliott, to Jonathan Nottingham, Samuel Adams to William McAdams, Reasin Beall to Benjamin Hough, John Bever to John Hales, Benjamin Biggs to Peter Hone, Blair & Ross to Robert Carroll, House Bentley to Andrew Bell, Zaccheus Biggs to Joseph Steer, George Bahver to Alexander Cassle, Benjamin Biggs to Jacob Zoll, George Brokaw to Nathan Updegraff, Robert Caruthers to Abigail Stanton, same to William Cash, to Joseph Gill, to Isaac Clendinen, Joshua Kirk, Robert Dunbar (indenture to Frances Mitchell), William Engle to John Hunter, Thomas Edington to Samuel Thompson, Andrew Ferrier to Caldwell & Coulter, Michael Teall to Gideon Forsyth, Morgan Vanmeter to William Knotts, William Welsh to Philip Delany, William Wallace to John Hinkston, Bezaleel Wells to Charles King, to John Phillips, George Williams to James Heaton, Samuel Salters, Thomas Dadey, Pheneas Ash, Peter Ash, Eli Way, Thomas Haslette, Andrew Anderson, John McDowell, John Young to Thomas Donaldson, Thomas Healea to Stephen Ayers.

1806. John Adams to George Adams, Jacob Arnold to Joseph McConnell, Zaccheus Biggs to John Perry, Peter Beam to Valentine Sailor, same to Yost Leonard, same to Andrew McNeely, same to Moses Chaplaine, same to Benjamin Stanton, Robert Carrel to Reton Wilson, John Cragne to John Hedges, John Craig to *Jessie Edington, same to Frances Bell, to William Hany, John Couzins to John White, John Dorsey to *Robert Hill, John Edginton to Samuel Arbuckle, same to Isaac Jenkinson, Michael Haman to John Rinehart, James Harrah to William McFerren, Thomas Healey to George Taylor, same to Thomas Kells, William Hervy to Jacob Swinehart, Samuel Hurford to Jacob Beam, same to Odadiah Jennings, Isaac Helmick to Thomas Deady, Peter Keller

to Arthur Gillis, Joseph Lewis to Joseph Foulke, Alexander McCleary to James Sinkey, Alexander McClean to William McClean, George Pfouts to George Heliwick, same to Jacob Levagood, to Simeon Pfouts, David Pfauts to John Bower, David Robertson to Joseph McKee, Nathan Shepherd to Charles Barkhurst, to Joshua Barkhurst, Jesse Thomas to Enoch Harris, Bezaleel Wells to William Ross, John Boyl, Brice Viers, Isaac Jenkinson.

Since much of the first seven ranges first offered for sale in New York in 1787 and purchased by persons who did not become settlers, very few of the first deeds were recorded in Steubenville, such action being unnecssary. This note is made for benefit of descendants of first land owners who make inquiry at the Recorder's office and are disappointed in not finding the names for which they seek. The accompanying list of first purchasers of lands includes 1806, a portion of the latter year having been taken from Book B. The date of record is not necessarily the date of purchase; property may have been bought in 1787 and not recorded until years after. Even to-day an occasional deed from the United States to Pathfinders is sent in for record. Many tracts purchased from the Government by settlers have not been recorded, yet division of this property is on record.

1806. Book B. John Thomas to Joseph Gill, Robert Carithers and Jesse Thomas to Joseph Gill, John Thomas to Curlis Grubb, Zenas Kimberly to Samuel Peck, Samuel Peck to Henry Stewart, John Hoopes to Moses Mendenhall, Aaron Brown to John Shepherd, Moses Chaplaine to Joseph McKee, John Ekey to Ephraim Lacey, David Robertson to John Fritch, John Fritch to Moses Neal, Absalom Elliott to Benjamin Parsons, Jesse Edginton to William McCaulley, John Black to John Hunter, John Black to Zaccheus Biggs, Richard Jackman to Thomas Edginton, Aaron Brown to Abigail Stanton, Jesse Thomas to Abigail Stanton, John Thomas to John Stewart, Thomas Edginton to John Rider, John Fuller to John Nicholson, Bezaleel Wells in trust to William Downard for heirs of Peter Snider, same to Henry Silver Thorn, Robert McCleary to Andrew

Bell, Cadwalader Evans to Jonathan Grave, same to Enos Grave, Benjamin Stanton to John and Joseph Longstreth, Hugh Tease to James Taggart, Horton Howard to Jacob Jones, Jesse Thomas to Daniel Michner, John and David McCrory to Thomas Edginton, Daniel Swearingen to John Stonebraker, Zenas Kimberly to Robert Blair, John Fuller to Samuel Anderson, Peter Keller to Nicholas Teal, Zaccheus Biggs to John Pritchard, same to Jacob Brown, Samuel Coopse to Ellis Willits, Abraham Crazier to Benjamin Hough, Tunis & Annesley to Jenkinson & Ritchie, Samuel Boyd to John Pritchard, United States to Samuel Boyd, Cadwalader Evans to John Martin, Alexander Crawford to Ephraim Kelly, Zaccheus Biggs to Robert Johnson, United States to George Leporth, United States to John Hanna, Matthias Stull to Christopher Sharer, Zaccheus Biggs to Samuel Boyd, to Martin Snyder, David Beatty to John Milligan (executor), to David Milligan, Bezaleel Wells to Benjamin Farmer, John Kay, John Gibson, Thomas Mansfield to Matthew Coulter, Benjamin Hough to Robert Carrel, Daniel Dunlevy to George McConnell, Isaac Helmick to Hiram Swain, George McConnell to Nicholas Davis, to James Cook, to Robert McCrackin, Robert H. Johnson to James Cloyd, John Simpson to Margaret Brisbon, Jesse Thomas to I. and O. Olston, Thomas Vickers (letter of attorney to Jonathan Taylor), John Stapler to Jonathan Taylor, Zaccheus Biggs to John Pugh, John Connell to James Dunlevy, Horton Howard to Jonathan Taylor, Robert Carithers to William Guthery, Isaac Helmic to Daniel Black, Abel Walker to John Young, John Young to Robert Cummins, Henry Moisser to Adam Moisser, United States to William Waggoner, John McConnell to John Long, James Dunlevy (sheriff) to John Ward, Reuben Pearson to Joshua Swim, Jesse Edginton to James Kerr, William Baker to John Lloyd and Robert Miller, Robert Carithers to Benjamin Scott, Matthew Adams to John C. Bayless, Zaccheus Biggs to Joseph Harris, David Hoge to John Galbraith, William McPherrin to James Gilcreast, Abraham Cazier to Jonathan Goss, House Bentley to Brice Viers.

PATHFINDERS AS ROADBUILDERS.

The Pathfinders were roadbuilders. The paths they found were Indian trails, which they soon learned to follow with the adroitness of the Indian himself. The first roads were mere bridle paths leading from habitation to habitation. In 1801 a road was laid out from Pultney Village (just below the site of Bellaire, founded by Daniel McElherran, a land speculator), to Newels Town (St. Clairsville) and one from the site of Martin's Ferry to intersect a road from Peter Henderson's to Tilton's Ferry (Tiltonville). This road was continued in 1804 to the mouth of Yellow Creek, and afterward to the Pennsylvania line. Previous to this, however, a road leading westward from "opposite Charles Town," known in after years as the Wellsburg Road, was constructed, and many of the roads for the construction of which the County Commissioners were petitioned, were to intersect these two early thoroughfares.

Zane's Trail was for many years the only thoroughfare east or west. This trail was so constantly used that at times and places it was worn into ruts so deep that a horse could have been buried in any one of them. However, Ebenezer Zane was employed by the Government to make a wagon-road from opposite Wheeling to Chillicothe, for which work he received in compensation three sections of land; on one section he founded Zanesville, on another New Lancaster, and the third was in the Scioto Valley, opposite Chillicothe. Before the road was accepted Zane was required to drive a wagon over it, a most difficult task.

The petitions following are given largely because they contain names of Pathfinders prominent in affairs of the county. Efforts to identfy the roads mentioned in detail proved futile.

The first mention of roads in the journal of the County Commissioners was on August 14, 1802, when it was ordered by the Commissioners that "the road tax be uniformally half the county tax, throughout the county." The United States Government donated three per cent. of receipts of land sales for road purposes, and consequently efforts were made for road-

building in all directions. Reading road petitions was the main action of the Commissioners, and the roads petitioned for were invariably surveyed and approved but all were not constructed.

The second record of road matters in Book A, Commissioner's Journal, was made Friday, June 15, 1804, John Ward, Clerk: "Ordered that William Wells [appointed Justice by Governor St. Clair in 1798] receive out of the County Treasury $9 in full for services of viewers and surveyors in laying out a road from the mouth of Yellow Creek to the western boundary of Pennsylvania."

On November 3, 1804, a petition was presented for a road from the southeast corner of Jonathan West's field, past school house near James Pritchard's to intersect state road at 12-mile tree. James Latimer, John Robertson and William Stoaks, viewers; John Gillis, jr., surveyor. This road was through Knox Township.

Same date. Beginning at Ohio River, opposite King's Creek, at Isaac White's Ferry; across Town Fork of Yellow Creek, near where James Shane is building a mill; to intersect state road from Stillwater to the northeast corner of the seven ranges, at Springfield. John Andrews, William Campbell and Michael Myers were appointed viewers and John Billis surveyor.

Same date. Beginning at extension of Clay Lick Road, on dividing ridge in the 26th Sec., 11th Township, 4th Range; crossing Alder Lick Fork and Dividing Fork of Kennottenhead; to intersect the great road leading from George Town, on the Ohio; to the Moravian Town on the Muskingum. John Sunderland, John Gillis, sr., and John Myers, viewers; John Gillis, jr., surveyor.

Same date. Beginning on the Ohio at the mouth of Jeremias Run; to intersect road from Steubenville to mouth of Yellow Creek [state road built along the river in 1804] at 12-mile tree; to cross Town Fork of Yellow Creek at James Fitzpatrick's; to James McCammis'; to intersect state road at Springfield. Jacob Nessley, William Sloane and Amos Wilson, viewers, and John Gillis, surveyor.

Same date. Petition for alteration of road down Cross Creek; past Moodie's mill; to intersect road from Steubenville to mouth of Short Creek. John Carr, John Andrews and John Miller, viewers; Benjamin Hough, surveyor.

Same date. John Taggart complained of a road having been laid out by Robert Carothers (Road Commissioner) from mouth of Short Creek to Duncan Morrison's. Robert Moodie, John Carr, John Adams, George Carpenter, Thomas Harper, viewers.

November 4, 1804. Draft of road, beginning on new part of ridge road south of Short Creek, past mills on Long Run; to the three forks of Short Creek; ordered made. Abner Wells, Charles Moore and Jacob Holmes, viewers; Benjamin Stanton, surveyor.

Same date. Beginning at 15th-mile tree, on road leading from Steubenville to Henderson's; to 17-mile tree on road from [opposite] Charles Town to Henderson's. John Crague, James Arnold, viewers; William Holson, surveyor.

November 8, 1804. Survey of road from mouth of Salt Run; to intersect road opposite Charles Town [Wellsburg] to Cadiz. Ordered opened. Ebenezer Sprague, Christopher Vanodoll, John Jackson, viewers; John McElroy, surveyor.

June session, 1805. Beginning at Baldwin Parson's mill on Short Creek; to Smithfield; to intersect Charles Town [Wellsburg] road near Archibald Armstrong's. Nathan Shepherd, Malachia Jolly, John Stoneman, viewers; William Denning, surveyor.

Beginning at Joseph Steer's mill on Short Creek; to mouth of Piney Fork; along ridge between Piney Fork and Dry Fork to Nathaniel Kellim's; to intersect Charles Town road between the 13th and 14-mile trees. Charles Cuppy, John McMillen, sr., William Gillespie, viewers; William Holson, surveyor.

Beginning upper end first narrows of Cross Creek, below Joseph Tominson's; down the creek with cart road; thence to "where old man Riddle formerly lived, to old Mr. Smith's;" to intersect road from Steubenville, near Smith's lime kiln,

above Bezaleel Wells' saw mill. Jacob Welday, William Forcythe, Samuel Hunter, viewers, Isaac Jenkinson, surveyor.

Beginning at south boundary line of county; thence to Jacob Ong's mill on Cross Creek to 14-mile tree on state road to New Lisbon. William Carr, Mason Metcalf, John Kimberlin, viewers; John Gillis, surveyor.

Beginnig on road leading from [opposite] Charles Town, to Henderson's; between 17 and 18-mile tree to Mr. Cutshall's mill on Cross Creek. Samuel Dunlap, John Crague, John Wiley, viewers; William Holson, surveyor.

September, 1806. Beginning at Cadiz; thence past Thomas Dickerson's smith shop, past school house on Joseph Holmes' land; thence to John Colbert's, to intersect the Short Creek Road; thence toward Newels Town until it strikes the county line. Joseph Huff, Samuel Huff, Josephine Holmes, viewers.

Beginning at mouth of Big Yellow Creek: thence to James Andrew's mill, to James Glenn's, to intersect road from opposite King's Creek, on the Ohio, to Springfield. Philip Saltsman, John Wells, Aaron Allen, viewers.

Beginning at road from Charles Town to Cadiz between the 20th and 21st-mile trees, to Baldwin Parson's mills on Short Creek. George Moore, John Craig and Levi Muncy, viewers.

Benjamin Scott presented a petition to change part of road from Belmont County line through his lands. Jonathan Lupton, Nathan Lupton, Joseph Steer, viewers, and Joseph Steer, surveyor.

Thomas Parviance complained of damage sustained by alteration on road from Charles Town to Cadiz. Joseph Porter, John Baird, Daniel Dunlevy, John Ekey and James Forcythe, reviewers. Robert Christie made like complaint, and Elias Pegg, Joseph Mahollen, Thomas Fleming and William Sharron were appointed viewers. Samuel Cope also complained and James G. Harra, Samuel McNary, John Kenney, Jesse Edginton and William Harvey were appointed reviewers.

December, 1806. Beginning at the town of New Salem, past the farm of John Ax; thence past farm of George Pfautz, past farms David Custard, Daniel Bair; thence down Knotten-

head, past sugar camp to mouth of Alder Lick Fork, to intersect the Charles Town Road. John Myser, Jacob Whitmore, John Wiley, viewers.

Beginning at James Forcythe's mill on McIntire's Fork of Cross Creek, past John Iam's; thence on the old path which leads from the Charles Town Road to the Steubenville Road which passes Bezaleel Wells' saw mill. Samuel McKinney, Joseph Porter, Daniel Dunlevy, viewers.

Beginning at the town of Cadiz, to James Finney's, to Gutshall's mill. Jesse Edginton, William Marshall, Thomas Ford, viewers; William Denning, surveyor.

Beginning southeast corner Jonathan West's field; to 12-mile tree on state road. Favorably reported. William Stoaks, James Latimer, viewers.

At this session John Tagart was awarded damages sustained in construction of that part of state road laid out by Robert Carothers from mouth of Short Creek to Duncan Morrison's.

Nov. 4, 1805. Beginning at Forcythe mill on Cross Creek; to Joseph Tomlinson's; thence to left of old Mr. Riddle's; to intersect Steubenville Road on Bezaleel Wells' Mill Run, at the foot of the hill. Samuel Hunter, Joseph Porter, John Ekey, viewers; David McClure, surveyor.

Beginning at the Short Creek Road where Carpenter's old trail leaves it; thence along dividing ridge between Short Creek and Wheeling Creek; to John McConnell's horse mill; thence along ridge between Brushy Fork and Bogg's Fork of Stillwater; intersecting Steubenville Road. Joseph Huff, Samuel Huff, John McConnell, viewers; William Holson, surveyor.

Beginning at 17-mile tree on Charles Town Road; thence to Baldwin Parson's mills on Short Creek. Samuel Dunlap, John Wiley, John Crague, viewers; William Holson, surveyor.

Beginning at the mouth of Piney Fork of Short Creek; thence along side of creek to Arnold's Town. Joshua Meeks, Jacob Holmes, William Gillespie, viewers.

Beginning on the Charles Town Road, "near McAdams and west of him;" thence to Eli Kelly's; to Thomas Cantwell's

old cabin; under the hill on the west side; to cross the creek above Israel England's sugar camp; thence up Cross Creek to Forcythe's mill; thence up the dug hill west of John Akey's; to intersect Steubenville Road, on the ridge near Matthew Huffstater's field; also a branch from the mouth of Dry Fork of Cross Creek, to intersect said road at John Akey's. Daniel Dunlevy, Joseph Porter, Christopher Lantz, viewers; Daniel McClure, surveyor.

Beginning at the plantation of Jacob Sheplar, on road from Steubenville to Cadiz; thence to plantation of John Bake, on dividing ridge between Stillwater and Knottenhead; thence to the range line. John Lyons, David Ensloe, Samuel Holmes, viewers; William Holson, surveyor.

David Robinson, Nathan Shephard, George Humphrey, Abraham Cuppy and Elias Pegg were appointed to investigate grievance of John McCullock by reason of road from the house of William Sharron to Joseph Steer's mill.

James Bailey, George Alban, Thomas Nicholson, Richard Johnston and Thomas Hitchcock were appointed to view a remonstrance against road from Bezaleel Wells' saw mill to Cross Creek.

June, 1806. Review of part of road from William Sharron's, past Steer's mill; intersecting road from Warren Town to Morrison's tavern; to-wit, from Rush Run Road to Jeremiah Ellis' line; ordered. Joshua McKee, Nathan Updegraff, James Carr, viewers, John McElroy, surveyor.

Beginning at 16-mile tree on road from Charles Town to Henderson's; thence to Martin Synder's on road from Steubenville to Cadiz. John Croskey, jr., Samuel Holmes, Daniel Welsh, viewers; William Holson, surveyor.

Petition for road from Short Creek Road near mouth of Long Run; thence up run by Abner Wells' mills and intersect Chillicothe Road near house of John Wells. Jonathan Wilson, Israel Jenkins, John McConnell, viewers.

Beginning at state road near Massam Metcalf's; thence so as to pass between farm of Abraham Bear and farm lately occupied by John Brisben, dec., until it intersects road laid out

from Isaac White's Ferry on the Ohio, to Springfiel, at Thomas McCamis'. Thomas McCamis, Arthur Latimer, Massam Metcalf, viewers; Daniel McClure, surveyor.

Beginning at mouth of Long Lick Run, through lands of Robert Hill and others, to intersect road down McMahan's Run to Steubenville, above Bezaleel Wells' saw mill. John Miller, John Adams, John Ekey, viewers; Daniel McClure, surveyor.

Beginning at Baldwin Parson's mills on Short Creek, past Alexander Cassil's fulling and saw mills; thence past Bradway Thompson's and Samuel Hanna's; to intersect road from Cadiz to Newels Town [St. Clairsville]. Andrew Richey, Samuel Dunlap, John Wells, viewers; James McMillan, surveyor.

William Storer, Malachia Jolly and John McLaughlin were appointed to review part of road from Charles Town to Cadiz.

Beginning at Cadiz; down Standingstone Fork of Stillwater; to intersect road from George Town to Middle Moravian Town. Abraham Leeport, Michael Worley, Joseph Huff, viewers; Isaac Jenkinson, surveyor.

Beginning at the mouth of Wills Creek; up the creek by Michael Castner's saw mill; to intersect road from Steubenville; by Uriah Johnson's saw mill at or near Samuel Thompson's. Andrew Anderson, James Dunlevy, Brice Viers, viewers; Isaac Jenkinson, surveyor.

Beginning at s. w. corner George Richey's field on state road; through Elliot's lane to Christopher Lance's; to intersect road leading from Bezaleel Wells' saw mill; over Cross Creek at Thomas Armstrong's. George Day, Thomas Nicholson, Jesse Wintringer, viewers; Isaac Jenkinson, surveyor.

Beginning at Cadiz; thence to John McConnell's horse mill; thence to county line; to intersect road from St. Clairsville. John McConnell, Davis Drake, James Crague, James McMillen, viewers.

Beginning at mouth of State Lick Run; thence up the hill "where Joseph Cook has already dug a road;" thence to the middle fence in John Phillips' plantation; thence along state road to ridge leading to George Mahon's horse mill; to intersect a new road from Steubenville, past Wells' saw mill on Cross

Creek. David Powell, Daniel Treadway, Thomas Wintringer, viewers.

Beginning at the mouth of Rush Run; up the run to Joseph Pumphrey's saw mill; to finally intersect Warren Town [Warrenton] Road, near "little Isaac Lemasters';" also, another road to begin near Thomas Brown's, and to intersect road from mouth of Rush Run to Steer's mill, near Elias Pegg's. George Carpenter, Joseph Boskhimer, David Purviance, viewers; William Noughton, surveyor.

Beginning at road from Warren Town to Smithfield at or near house of William Sharran; to Joseph Steer's mill; to intersect the road leading from Warren Town to Morrison's, on the Chillicothe Road. Nathan Updegraff, James Carr, Joseph McKee, viewers, John McElroy, surveyor.

Beginning at the Charles Town Road, at Leeport's old place; thence up Macintire's Fork of Cross Creek; thence to James Roberts' saw mill; thence to intersect road leading from Warren Town to Duncan Morrison's, near John Fuller's. John Craige, George Moore, John McFadden, viewers.

Beginning at road from Tilton's Ferry to St. Clairsville, at corner James West's field; to intersect road up Little Fork of Short Creek, near Henry West's mill; thence to continue along said road to fording below the meeting house; to intersect road from Steer's mills to Wheeling. Thomas McCune, Joseph Tilton, Adam Dunlap, viewers, and John McElroy, surveyor.

James Bailey, William Bailey, William Campbell, James Pritchard were appointed viewers to investigate compiaint of Henry Hannah as to road laid out to intersect the road from opposite King's Creek to Springfield. The same viewers were appointed on the same complaint of John P. McMillen.

March, 1807. Beginning at a school house near the Widow Wycoff's, on road laid out from mouth of Island Creek to said school house; thence along the line between Daniel Arnold's and Martin Swickart's lands, to where said road strikes John Rider's corner; to intersect the Quaker Road; thence to the mouth of John Rider's lane; thence to hill descending to Shane's mill on the Town Fork of Yellow Creek. George Friend, Wil-

liam Friend, William Campbell, Arthur Latimer, viewers, and John Milligan surveyor.

Beginning at mouth of Right-hand Fork of Short Creek; up said fork to intersect road from Arnold's Town to Baldwin Parson's mills. John Craig, George Moore, James G. Harra, viewers.

June, 1807. Beginning at the place where the road from Baldwin Parson's mill intersects road from Charles Town to Cadiz, about two and one-half miles from Cadiz; thence past the plantation of Morris West on road from Cadiz to Steubenville; past the plantation of Samuel Smith; to intersect the road leading down dividing ridge between Stillwater Cannotton [Connotton] at the plantation of Otha Baker. William Moore, Samuel Osburn, Henry Hemry, viewers, and William Holson, surveyor.

Beginning at Nicholas Cutshall's mill; thence past the farm of Christopher Shaffer; past farm of John Stull; past farm of Daniel Shawber; to intersect road from Steubenville to n. w. corner of the Seventh Range. Solomon Miller, George Pfautz, Solomon Fisher, viewers, and John Milligan, surveyor.

Beginning at the line between Jefferson and Belmont, on dividing ridge between Wheeling and Stillwater, where the road from St. Clairsville intersects said line; to Jacob Vanpelt's; to Benjamin Wardings; thence by near James Perdue's; thence to intersect the Steubenville Road. David Drake, Joseph Covert, John Chadwallider, viewers.

Beginning at or near the 16-mile tree on road leading from Cadiz to Steubenville; thence to David Parkhill's mills; thence to New Salem. John Kinney, Jesse Edginton, Peter Hesser, viewers.

Beginning at state road from Warren Town past Mt. Pleasant, east of fields belonging to William McKahc; thence to saw mill of Asa Cadwallader; past lands of Judge Martin and Joshua Howard, so as to intersect road from Warren Town to Smithfield. Joseph McKee, Joseph Steer, David Robertson, viewers.

Beginning near William Engle's; thence west along divid-

ing ridge between main branch and Brushy Fork of Stillwater until it comes to the head of a large run; to Daniel Easley's mill on Big Stillwater. William Huff, David Drake, John McMillan, viewers.

Beginning at Mr. Shepler's on the Chillicothe Road; thence to the Clear Fork of Stillwater; down said fork to Adam Farrier's mill; thence to the point where the George Town Road crosses it. Samuel Boyd, Abraham Leeport, John McKonkey, viewers.

Michael Castner complained of the course through his property of road from the landing of Philip Cable on the Ohio, to Springfield, and asked permission to change road at his own expense. James Moores, jr., Thomas Frazier, Samuel Thompson, viewers.

William Marshall, John Ekey and Joseph Tumbleson were appointed viewers on a change in the road from the Steubenville Road to James Forcythe's mill; William Denning, surveyor.

December, 1807. Petition presented for alteration of road from Steubenville, past Mr. Wells' saw mill on Cross Creek; alteration to be made between Steubenville and the First and Second Ranges. Jacob Fickus, David Hull, Moses Hanlon, viewers, and Isaac Jenkinson, surveyor.

Petition for alteration of road from Steubenville to Hezekiah Griffith's Ferry opposite Charles Town; the alteration to begin at upper end of Mingo Bottom; down the Ohio River until it intersects road from Moodey's Mill to Edgar's Ferry. Robert Hill, Brice Viers, John Baird, viewers.

Petition for alteration of road from Warren Town to Smithfield; alteration to begin on Peter Hone's land; down the hill to the fording next below Thomas Adam's saw mill. John Kerr, Joseph Kerr, Joseph Steer, viewers.

Beginning at the Steubenville Road at intersection of road from Forcythe's mill; along line between James Connell and Andrew Elliott's land; north across James Connell's plantation to a hickory on the line between Connell's and Stephen Brown's land; to lane to Andrew Richey's; to corner of Thomas Mans-

field's field; to mouth of William Sherrow's lane; to John Creesand's hill; to intersect state road between 9 and 10-mile trees. Thomas Patton, William Floyd, Thomas Latta, viewers.

Thomas Adams asked for alteration of road crossing Short Creek at upper end of his mill-dam. John Kerr, Joseph Steer, George Humphreys, viewers. This closed the road business before the County Commissioners up to January, 1808.

PATHFINDERS RECEIVING MONEY FOR KILLING WOLVES AND PANTHERS.

The Commissioners each year fixed the price paid for panther and wolf scalps, and the Commissioners' journal contains record of orders issued to persons who had presented evidence of such service to the county. At first 50 cents was paid for the scalp of a wolf or panther under six months of age, and for above six months of age, $1. The premium was increased to $1 and $2; and on June 3, 1803, the increase reached $1.50 and $3.00. The names are given below simply because they represent early settlers.

1801. Order in favor of Sampson King, Esq., in consequence of a certificate for a wolf's head; signed by James Clark, Esq., in favor of William Wells.

1802. John Clemments, signed by Lewis Throgmorton, John Hannah, John Mizer, William McCalley, Henry Barber, Christopher Vannoysdol, Joshua Nap, Frederick Zephernick, John Galbraith, John Shannon, Enos Thomas, John Reed, Joseph Reppy, Robert McCleary, Hans Wilson, John Edwards, Michael Miers, William Thorn.

John Hardenbrook, John Hannah.

1803. Andrew Lockhart, John Downs, Allen Leiper, John Lashly, Joseph Rippey.

1804. Moses Hoagland, William Roach.

1805. Robert Maxwell, Abraham Dinters, William Rippeth John Ross, William McCleary, George Layport, John Castleman, Robert McClish, Richard Castleman, John Stull, John Moody.

1806. George Helwick, Peter Thomas, Francis Dorsey,

Josiah Johnston, William Gray, Henry Cutshall, S. Salmon, John Rowland, James Crawford, Robert Carson.

1807. James Crawford, Isaac Laport, Levi Quaintance, M. Willis, Jesse Parmore, Cornelius Vanosdel, William Deviers, William Moore, Josiah Johnston, George Free, James Hoagland, William Floyd, John Bates, William Davis, Nathan Stafford, Isaac White, Philip Harkey.

1808. Robert Hill, Robert Carson, David Pugh, Thomas Bruce, George Pfoutz, William Rippey, Jolly Rutter, Joseph McGrew, Joseph Johnston, Robert Meeks, William Stringer, James Davies, Thomas Bruce, George Fitzpatrick, Peter Johnston, James Glass, Benjamin Cable, Caleb Wheeler, Adam Kimmel, Joseph Parmore, William Johnston, William Melva, Reuben Pfoutz, Philip Saltsman, John Miser, George Knee, George Brown, Benjamin Johnston.

1809. Benjamin Tipton, George Dewalt, William Smith, Abraham Walter, Jonathan Seers, Aaron Hoagland, David Davis.

1810. James Blair, Charles Carter, George Johns, Adam Simmon, Jacob Stringer, Abraham Walter.

OFFICERS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY REGIMENT IN THE SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Staff-Officers. — John Andrew, Lieutenant [Colonel]; Thomas Glenn, Major; James Campbell, Major; George Darrow, Major; Jacob Frederick, Major; Mordecai Bartley, Adjutant; Thomas Campbell, Surgeon; Jacob Van Horn, Quartermaster; John B. Dowden, Sergeant Major; John Patterson, Quartermaster Sergeant; John McClintock, Drum Major, John Niel, Fife Major.

Captain Aaron Allen's Company. — Lieutenant, John Vantillburg; Ensign, William Mills; Sergeants, James Clare, Richard Shaw, John Farquar, Thomas Henderson; Corporals, Christopher Abel, Hugh Levington, James Johnson, David Workman. One hundred and twenty-one men.

Captain Thomas Latta's Company. — Lieutenant, Hugh Christy; Ensign, William Pritchard; Sergeants, George Brown,

Alexander Patterson, George Ermatinger, John Haughey, Isaac Holmes; Corporals, Cornelius Peterson, William Bety, James Haley, Matthew Palmer. One hundred and fifty-nine men.

Captain John Alexander's Company. — Ensign, David Jackson; Sergeants, John Lynch, Robert Blackford, Hugh McGee; Corporals, Jeremiah Argo, Charles A. Lindsey, Thomas Marshall, William Ross. Seventy-one men.

Captain John Allen Scroggs' Company. — Lieutenant, John Ramsey; Ensign, John Caldwell; Sergeants, William Wilkin, William Dunlap, William Holson, William Robertson, Samuel Avery, Joseph Haverfield, John Connoway, John Wallace. Fifty-six men.

Captain James Alexander's Company. — Lieutenant, Henry Bayless; Ensign, John Myers; Sergeants, James Andrews, Alexander Barr, Martin Saltsman, James Tolan; Corporals, David Wilkinson, Amos West, John Anderson. Sixty men.

Captain Nicholas Murray's Company.—Lieutenant, Nathan Wintringer, Ensign, John Carroll; Sergeants, Philip Fulton, Joseph Batcheldor, James Carnehan, George Beatty; Corporals, James Patton, Samuel Wilson, James Haskell, George Atkinson. Forty-four men.

Captain William Faulk's Company. — Lieutenant, John Berkdell; Ensign, Jacob Crauss; Sergeants, John Kester, John Cannon, John Hughston, John Chancy; Corporals, Addison Makinnen, Rudolph Brandaberry, Andrew Armstrong, James Henderson. Seventy-three men.

Captain Jacob Gilbert's Company.—Lieutenant, John Teeton; Ensigns, Abraham Fox, Conrad Myers; Sergeants, David Shoemaker, Samuel Outer, Michael Coyin; Corporals, Michael Shaffer, Randall Smith, Peter Miller, John Eaton, John Lepley. Eighty-three men.

Captain Joseph Holmes' Company. — Lieutenants, William Thorn, John Ramsey; Ensign, Garvin Mitchell; Sergeants, Francis Popham, James Gilmore, Alexander Smith, John McCulley; Corporals, Edward Van Horn, John Pollock, Thomas McBride, Joseph Hagerman. Eighty-four men.

Captain James Downing's Company. — Lieutenant, Peter

Jackson; Ensign, Thomas Smith; Sergeants, John Forcythe, John Bosler, Michael McGowen, Samuel Richards; Corporals, Abraham Bair, Benjamin Akison, John Worden, Joseph Bashford. Eighty-one men.

Captain Joseph Zimmerman s Company. — Lieutenant, James Kerr; Ensign, Conrad Myers; Sergeants, George Schultz, George Estep, William Rouch, Christian Krepts; Corporals, George Switezer, Ezekiel Moore, John Lawrence, Samuel Meek. Fifty men.

Captain David Peck's Company. — Lieutenant, Joseph Davis; Ensign, Jacob Sheffer; Sergeants, John Stoakes, Daniel Higgins, Dudley Smith, Jesse Barnum; Corporals, John Vaughn, James Davis, James Miller, William McKonkey. Seventy-nine men.

Captain William Stoakes' Company. — Lieutenant, Thomas Orr; Ensign, John Caldwell; Sergeants, John Elrod, John Paramore, David Kinsey, William Bashford; Corporals, Benjamin Dean, Williamson Carothers, Isaac Vail, John Palmer. Ninety men.

NOTES.

The pages referred to below are in The Pathfinders of Jefferson County, Vol. VI., Ohio Archæological and Historical Society publications.

NOTE TO PAGE 96. — Hon. Charles A. Hanna of Philadelphia, who has (1899) ready for the press a history of the Scotch-Irish families in America, has much basis for the statement that before the Scotch-Irish came to America they were a composite race, having in their veins the mixture of bloods that made possible the distinctive American blood of which much has been noted by writers, — the original British, Irish, Scotch, Norman, Danish, Saxon, — each adding points of excellence to the whole not strongly characteristic of the others.

NOTE TO PAGE 103. — The statement made here that Pennsylvanians who had gone to North Carolina inspired the Mecklenberg Declaration, has been investigated and found to be true. It is certain that Patrick Jack, who carried the Mecklenberg Declaration to Philadelphia, was a cousin of John Jack who participated in the Hannastown Declaration. Hon. C. A. Hanna made a personal investigation with the result, that

the people of Mecklenberg county at that time were evidently from Pennsylvania.

NOTE TO PAGE 103. — Cumberland county [Pa.,] which lies west of the Susquehanna, may be said to have formed the frontier, was then [1763] almost exclusively occupied by the Irish and their descendants; who, however, were neither of the Roman faith nor of Celtic origin, being immigrants from the colony of Scotch, forming a numerous and thrifty population in the North of Ireland. They were staunch and zealous Presbyterians. . . . They were, nevertheless, hot-headed and turbulent, often setting law and authority at defiance. — Parkman. [They defied the law of the Quaker proprietors that protected the Indian in his outrages on the settlers. — Compiler.]

NOTE TO PAGE 111. — What tribe of Israel can be named in which we may not find Scotch-Irish? The volume entitled History of the Kentucky Revival and its Attainment of Perfection in Shakerism, was written by a Scotch-Irish preacher, who attained note in Keutcky eighty years ago by his encouraging the so-called "jerks," until, with several brother ministers and many parishioners, he danced over into the Ohio sect of Quakers, in Ohio being known as the "Shaker Asph." — Chancellor McCracken, New York University.

NOTE TO PAGE 117. — In his graphic description of the conflict on the Heights of Abraham, Parkman says: Could the chiefs of the gallant army have pierced the secrets of the future, could they have foreseen that the victory which they burned to achieve would have robbed England of her proudest boast, that the conquest of Canada would pave the way for the independence of America, their swords would have dropped from their hands and the heroic fire have gone out from their hearts.

NOTE TO PAGE 144. — The cause of the killing of the Conestoga Indians at Conestoga and in the Lancaster jail by the Paxtang Boys, members of the Paxtang Presbyterian church, in 1763, is given in minute detail by Parkman in "Pontiac's Conspiracy." Along thinly settled borders of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, 2,000 persons had been killed or carried off and an equal number of settlers driven from their homes, and the Quaker owners of the province remained inactive except in taking measures for the protection of the Indians as they did in the case of the Conestogas. Parkman says: "The frontier people of Pennsylvania, goaded to desperation by long continued suffering, were divided between rage against the Indians and resentment against the Quakers, who had yielded them cold sympathy and inefficient aid. The horror and fear, grief and fury, with which these men looked upon the mangled remains of friends and relatives, set law at defiance. . . They fiercely contended that they were interposed as a barrier between the rest of the province and a ferocious enemy; and that they were sacrificed to the safety of men who were indifferent to their miseries, and lost no opportunity to extenuate and smooth away the cruelties

of their destroyers. They declared that Quakers would go farther to befriend a murdering Delaware than to succor a fellow countryman; and that they loved red blood better than white, and a pagan better than a Presbyterian. . . . They interpreted the command that Joshua should exterminate the heathen as injunction that the Presbyterians should exterminate the Indians. . . . It is not easy for those living in the tranquility of polished life fully to conceive the depths and force of that unquenchable, indiscriminate hatred which Indian outrages can awaken in those who have suffered."

NOTE TO PAGE 147. — When the Friends took a lot of land belonging to the Delawares, the latter objected and the Friends, rather than have their tranquility disturbed by shedding blood themselves, bribed the Iroquoise to remove the Delawares. The one division of the Delawares came to the Tuscarawas valley.

NOTE TO PAGE 168. — Even previous to the murder of settlers that ushered in Pontiac's war, Moravian Indians in the Lehigh valley were blamed with aiding and abetting the bad Indians, and murders during the war revived the former suspicion and the expediency of destroying the Moravians was openly debated. Toward the end of the Summer of 1763 several murders of settlers were committed in the neighborhood, and the Moravian Indians were loudly accused of taking part in them and these charges were never fully refuted. — Parkman.

NOTE TO PAGE 191. — Col. Hamtramck was born in Quebec in 1756, and died in Detroit in 1803. He was given the land upon which Mt. Vernon, Ohio, is located. The original slab covering his grave had upon it these words: "Sacred to the memory of John Francis Hamtramck, Colonel of the U. S. Reg't of Infantry and Commandant of Detroit and its Dependencies. He departed this life April 11, 1803, aged 45 years. True patriotism and a zealous attachment to national liberty, joined to a laudable ambition, led him into military service at an early period of his life. He was a soldier even before he was a man; he was an active participator in all the dangers, difficulties and honors of the Revolutionary war, and his heroism and uniform good conduct procured for him the personal thanks of the immortal Washington. The United States in him have lost a valuable officer and a good citizen, and society a useful and pleasant member; to his family the loss is incalculable, and his friends will never forget the memory of Hamtramck. This humble monument is placed over his remains by the officers who had the honor to serve under his command — a small but grateful tribute to his merit and worth."

NOTE TO PAGE 205. — Gen. Arthur St. Clair retired to his farm in Westmoreland county, Pa., after serving fifteen years as Governor of the Northwest Territory. He was broken in health, spirit and fortune, and although he had advanced thousands of dollars to his country during the Revolutionary War, his property was sold by the sheriff to satisfy

creditors. He died in a log house near Ligonier, where he kept an ordinary, August 31, 1818, death resulting from an accident by which he was thrown from his wagon. When the mutterings of the Revolution began St. Clair became active on the side of the patriots, and with his own hand wrote the resolutions at the noted Hannastown meeting, May 16, 1775. He served through the war and rose to the rank of Major-General. He was appointed Governor of the Northwest Territory by Congress, October 5, 1787, serving until 1802.

NOTE TO PAGE 264. — Thomas Shillitoe was born in London, February, 1754. He was first placed in a grocery as a clerk; then in a brandy store, but as he objected to the liquor traffic he apprenticed himself to a shoemaker. Although his parents were members of the Church of England, he became a Friend, advancing rapidly, becoming a noted traveling minister. He kept full record of events, and from his journal this narrative is taken.

MAP

OF

INDIAN THOROUGHFARES OF OHIO.

[The general plan of this map is that of Hutchins. Several Indian trails and Indian villages have been added from other maps, making it perhaps the most complete map of the Indian eastern and central Ohio published. It will be noticed that it does not include the western portion. This is owing to the fact that the old maps give almost no Indian villages or trails of western Ohio, showing the absolute ignorance which existed of it when the central and southern portions were quite well known. The Indian trails are numbered to correspond with the chart. The three centers of Indian population should be noted, that of the Wyandots on the western shores of Lake Erie, where they settled about 1701; that of the Delawares, between the Ohio and Muskingum and westward, whither they came from the eastern valley whose name they bore between 1740 and 1750; and the Shawnese in the Scioto Valley, which they occupied after 1740. By the middle of last century the Indian population in Ohio was fully determined. Counting four to a family there may have been twelve thousand Indians in the present Ohio in 1770, but as Ohio became the general fighting ground the northern and western nations hurried their warriors eastward to the border, and in 1779 there were possibly ten thousand warriors alone within the confines of the northern old Ohio. Boquet's route is marked conspicuously, as in Braddock's Road and Forbes'.]

THE INDIAN THOROUGHFARES OF OHIO.*

By Archer Butler Hulbert.

History tells of two Ohios — the old and the new. The old Ohio was that portion of the American *Hinterland* drained by the Ohio and Allegheny rivers which, together, formed *la Belle Riviere* of New France. It included the territory between the Alleghenies, the Mississippi and the great lakes, save as we except the country of Illinois, which early in history became a territory distinct by itself, as the meadow lands of *Kan-ta-kee* became distinct later. As late as the Revolutionary war an English map printed "Ohio" south, as well as north, of the Ohio river.[1]

Of this old Ohio (including the Illinois country) only that part which lay north of the Ohio river contained a resident Indian population. That portion south of the river was the Korea of the central west — the "dark and bloody" battle ground of surrounding nations half a century before the white man gave it that name.

North of the Ohio river, in the valleys of the Alleghany, Beaver, Muskingum, Scioto, Sandusky, Miami, Maumee, Wabash and Illinois, more white men knew the redman intimately than perhaps anywhere in the United States in the eighteenth century. This knowledge of the Indian in his own home-land resulted in giving to the world a mass of material respecting his country, customs and character. Among other things this knowledge of the northern division of the old Ohio during the Indian regime made it possible to map it, and some of these maps are essentially correct.

The dismemberment of the great old Ohio was rapid, and in some instances spectacular. The extension of Virginian dominion by George Rogers Clark and the evolution of the state of Kentucky, and especially the passage of the great Ordinance

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[1] Map with Pownall's "*Middle British Colonies in North America 1776*," (London, 1776).

THE MUSKINGUM TRAIL.

View taken on the Summit of Wallace Ridge, near Stockport, Ohio, where the Indians lay watching Big Bottom blockhouse across the Muskingum river the day preceding the night of the massacre.

which once and forever divided the territory by the Ohio river — all combined to narrow down "Ohio," until now the present imperial commonwealth is but the core of the great empire once embraced under its name.

This new Ohio, or the portion of the northern division of the old Ohio contained between the Beaver and Miami rivers, offers special inducements to prosecute the study of the branch of Indian archæology herewith presented, that of Indian thoroughfares. Perhaps the more important conditions are not answered better in any portion of the continent than in what is now the state of Ohio: it contained a resident Indian population; it was extensively visited during Indian occupation by explorers, traders, spies, armies, missionaries, surveyors and geographers, who studied and knew the land as it then was; and, finally, a last and imperative condition is answered, it is in part a hilly country.

It is possible to believe that in the earliest times the Indians travelled only on rivers and lakes. When they turned inland we can be practically sure that they found, ready-made and deeply-worn, the very routes of travel which have since borne their name. For the beginning of the history of roadmaking in this central west, we must go back two centuries, when the buffalo, urged by his need of change of climate, newer feeding grounds and fresher salt licks, first found his way through the forests. Even if the first thoroughfares were made by the mastodon and the moundbuilder, they first came to white man's knowledge as buffalo "traces," and later became Indian trails.[1]

[1] A vivid description of the trails of Darkest Africa as seen by Du Chaillu and Stanley has come recently from the pen of Julian Hawthorne and may be interesting in this connection:

"These trails, but two or three feet in width, traverse the vast expanse from one side to another; you walk in them single-file; if you step aside for a few rods, you may spend the rest of your life trying to find the route again. Around you on every side are the gigantic columns of the forest-trees; overhead, two hundred feet aloft, their boughs and dense foliage make a roof through which no sunshine ever falls; all is as nature made it, except that single narrow thread of thoroughfare, created by human footsteps, none can tell how many thousand years ago. For days, weeks, months, you follow such trails, over thousands of miles;

In Kentucky, which we have already noted as unoccupied by resident Indians, the word "trace" has come down from last century rather than "trail," which is the word generally used by the oldest inhabitants of Ohio.[1]

The routes of the plunging buffalo, weighing a thousand pounds and capable of covering two hundred miles a day, were well suited to the needs of the Indian. One who has any conception of the west as it was a century and a half ago, who can see the river valleys filled with the immemorial plunder of the river floods, can realize that there was but one practicable passage-way across the land for either beast or man, and that, on the summits of the hills. Here on the hilltops, mounting on the longest ascending ridges, lay the tawny paths of the buffalo and Indian. They were not only *highways*, they were the *highest ways*, and chosen for the best of reasons:[2]

1. The hilltops offered the driest courses; from them water was shed most quickly and least damage was caused by erosion.

2. The hilltops were windswept; the snow of winter and the leaves of summer were alike driven away, leaving little or nothing to block or obscure the pathway.

3. The hilltops were coigns of vantage for outlook and signalling.

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they were laid out without a compass, by the unaided instinct of the savage; but they bring you by the shortest route from distant sea to sea." — *Cosmopolitan*, November 1899, p. 127.

[1] The two great thoroughfares in Kentucky were on buffalo traces. Boone's road led to the Blue Grass country where Lexington was built. Logan's road left Boone's at Rockcastle Creek and led to Crab Orchard, Bardstown, Bullittt's Lick and Louisville. — Speed's *"Wilderness Road,"* p. 27.

[2] In such a study as the present nothing could be of more value than the testimony offered by the Catholic missionaries to New France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Citations will constantly be made to this great volume of testimony, sometimes as proof, sometimes in contrast, but always to depict the Indian custom and practice in reference to our subject. Our quotations will be from *"Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"* edited by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites.

The great snow falls of Canada were not experienced south of Lake Erie. It is interesting to note the effect of much snow on the use of

MAP

OF

INDIAN TRAILS ON WATERSHEDS.

[The evolution of our American highways is described elsewhere. And while noticing the fact that our roads have been coming down hill for a century, it is interesting to recall that this is true of our civilization. Our first towns were on the hilltops, as well as our first roads, and like the roads have come down into the valleys. The need of the motive power furnished by the streams led to the building of mills in the valleys. About the mills sprang up small settlements. The coming of the railway era was the doom of thousands of proud towns and villages, and and the shrill scream of the locomotive sounded the passing of the old thoroughfares on the hills.

Another interesting matter comes up in this conneection. After a lecture by the author at Adebert College, Cleveland, a well known Ohio legislator and champion of good roads, took exception to a statement made that the first clearings and farms were along the old highways on the hilltops. There is much evidence that the statement as made was true, and it is an interesting question for discussion. The question refers to the first clearings and farms, not the location of the first settlements and towns. Several writers speak of the early clearing of the hilltops, De Hass, for instance, and the burden of testimony of the pioneers with whom I have talked is that the first farms were on the hills. In such a question there can be no rule to hold true in all cases, but there is a middle ground to take, which, we believe, will incline toward our original view of the matter.]

The following chart gives the names, destinations and routes of the main Indian thoroughfares of Ohio. Of a great number of trails only a few became prominent. The establishment of forts, as at Detroit and Pittsburg, and of trading stations, rendered certain trails especially important.[1] Of these the following were well known:

Indian trails: "There was everywhere 3 feet of snow; and no paths had yet been made" (*Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. XII, p. 261). "We departed therefore, on the 13th and reached home very late at night, after considerable trouble — for the paths were only about half a foot wide where the snow would sustain one, and if you turned ever so little to the right or left you were in it half way up to your thighs" (do. Vol. XV, p. 267).

It is quite evident from the records of the Jesuit missionaries that the trails of Canada were not of such importance as routes of travel as were those south of the lakes. The long winters and deep snows rendered them, for the greater part of the year seemingly, well nigh impassible. The rivers were the main routes of travel and the missionaries call both water and land routes "roads" indiscriminately: "the whole length of the road (from the Huron country to Quebec) is full of rapids and precipices." (Do. Vol. XXII, p. 307).

[1] But the Indian trails had much to do with the location of the forts and trading stations. Detroit, Sandusky, Pittsburg, Marietta and Cincinnati were the earliest stragetic points for the whites, for both trade and war, and these were located in naturally stragetic positions. But for the location of the scores of inland forts and trading houses the Indian thoroughfares must have been responsible to a large degree; as we shall see later they were responsible in a measure for the distribution of the early population.

No.	Name[1]	Destination	Route[2]	Remarks
1	Fort Miami	Fort Miami Lower Shawnee Town	Due northwest from Lower Shawnee Town, on watershed.	The principal route from southern and southwestern portions of Ohio to Detroit. Used until well into this century.[3]
2	Great Trail	Fort Pitt (Pittsburg, Pa.) Fort Detroit (Detroit, Mich.)	Fort Pitt down Ohio River to mouth of Beaver—north of New Lisbon—Waynesburg—crossed Muskingum River near Bolivar—near Wooster northwest near Castalia—Fremont—River Raisin—Detroit.	Also called the Big Trail. This was the most important trail of the central west, the main thoroughfare from Fort Pitt to Fort Detroit. It was the western extension of the continental route from the seaboard to the northwest, meeting Nemacolin's Path,[4] which came from Fort Cumberland, at Fort Pitt. As will be shown, it was followed by various military expeditions and guarded on the Muskingum by the first fort built on Ohio soil. For best map, see Hutchins, of Northwest; also with "*Boquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians.*"[5]

[1] The author is responsible for names here given to the Indian trails of Ohio, Nos. 2, 10 and 14 excepted.
[2] The routes will be given, so far as possible, by towns and villages of to-day.
[3] *Burnet's Notes*, pp. 70, 71.
[4] "*History of Braddock's Expedition*," p 200; *New England Magazine*, Vol. XV.: 299 (Nov. 1896).
[5] Howe II: 832; "*History Wayne County*," p. 167.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
3	Lake Shore	Fort Detroit Presq'isle (Erie, Pa.)	Followed highland along the lake shore.	Probably identical with Great Trail between Fort Detroit and Fort Sandusky. Followed by Moravian Indians from their town, Pilgerruh, on Cuyahoga, to Milan, Erie County, O.[1] Drawn only on Heckewelder's manuscript map.
4	Mahoning	Fort Pitt Fort Sandusky	Diverged from Great Trail at mouth of Beaver—ascended Beaver and Mahoning rivers —highlands west to Sandusky River—descended river to Fort Sandusky.	Referred to incidentally in Zeisberger's *Diary*.[2] Heckewelder's map.
5	Miami	Miami's Towns Cherokee Country	A southern war path from western Ohio.	Not given on most maps and evidently little known by whites and not of much importance to them.
6	Mingo	Wills Town (Duncan's Falls) Mingo Bottoms Steubenville	Across highlands of Noble, Guernsey, Harrison and Jefferson counties.	Possibly a branch of No. 7, leading to upper Ohio River.[3]

[1] *Zeisberger's Diary*, Vol. I; pp. 333-341.
[2] Howe, II.: 627.
[3] *History Morgan County*, p. 42.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
7	Monongahela	Shawnee Towns on Scioto Monongahela Valley	Across Fairfield and Perry counties to Muskingum River at Stockport; left latter at Big Rock[1] and ran S. W. to Belpre—crossed Ohio River[2] Dry Ridge[3]—Ten Mile Creek to Monongahela—Fort Byrd.	Well known war path from center of Indian population in Ohio to frontier settlements of Long Knives in southwestern Pennsylvania. Hutchins' maps. Hutchins' map.
8	Moravian	Painted Post[4] Gosh-Gosh-ing (Coshocton)	Across highlands of Columbiana, Carroll and Harrison counties.	Probably joined with No. 11 near Coshocton, which made the two trails the common highway from the Indian center of population in Ohio to Fort Pitt and the east. Heckewelder's map.
9	Muskingum	Cuyahoga and Muskingum Valley Route	Ascended Cuyahoga Valley from Lake Erie—crossed Portage Path to Tuscarawas Valley—descended Tuscarawas and Muskingum valleys to Ohio River.	Trail followed river valley on nearest hilltops.[5] Probably little used south of Wills Town, except between Stockport and Big Rock. (See No. 7.)

[1] Big Rock was a landmark in the Muskingum Valley. It was a huge rock in the Muskingum River, about half a mile above the Luke Chute station of the Zanesville & Ohio River Railway, near the beginning of the present railway "cut" through the hill. It was the object point of one of the first roads built by the Ohio Company.

[2] *Sketches of Pioneer History* (Cincinnati, 1864), p. 204. [3] do. pp. 205, 206.

[4] Indian camp in Columbiana County, on Great Trail, between branches of Yellow Creek.

[5] *History of Muskingum and Tuscarawas Valleys:* p. 138.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
10	Sandusky-Richmond (Va.)	Fort Sandusky Richmond, Va.	Ascended Sandusky Valley, crossed portage, descended Scioto to Lower Shawnee Town; across Hocking, Vinton and Meigs counties to mouth of Great Kanawha; ascended Great Kanawha through mountains.	Important fur route between Virginia and the lake country; also most direct route to central Ohio from southern seaboard colonies. Hutchins' map.[1]
11	Scioto	Scioto Valley	Ascended Sandusky River and descended Scioto to Ohio.	Identical with No. 10 between Fort Sandusky and Lower Shawnee Town; one of the greatest war paths in the west, leading southward into "Warriors' Path" to land of the Cherokees and Catawbas.
12	Scioto-Beaver	Lower Shawnee Town Beaver Valley	Ran eastward from Scioto to Muskingum Valley, meeting No. 8 near junction of Walhonding and Tuscarawas. Extension ran westward to Miami Valley from Lower Shawnee Town.	A most important route, leading to the heart of the populated portion of the old Ohio to the towns of Shawnees and Miamis. Hutchins' map.

[1] *History of Morgan County*, p. 42.

No.	Name	Destination	Route	Remarks
13	Venango	Fort Pitt Fort Presq'isle	Ran due north from Fort Pitt to Fort Venango. Followed French Creek northward to Fort Le Boeuf and across portage to Presq'isle, on Lake Erie.	Important trail in days of French regime, as will appear, especially over the noted portage of twenty miles from Lake Erie to Fort Le Boeuf, on French Creek.
14	Warriors' Path	Cumberland Gap Lake Erie	Ran due north from Cumberland Gap to Lake Erie.	Identical with No. 11, north of Ohio River. The main primeval thoroughfare of the southern half of the old Ohio.[1]

[1] "*Wilderness Road*": p. 26.

Advancing civilization has made the valley and hillside blossom as the rose; the rivers are dredged until they look little as they did in the old days; great chasms have been hewn through hill and mountain by the railways — but the rough summits of the hills are left much as they were. And here on the highlands, which were to the trade and travel of the olden time what our through trunk railways are to us, one may still follow the serpentine highways of the buffalo and Indian with as perfect assurance, in many cases, as he may follow the railway, turnpike or tow-path in the valley below. The writer's sources of information have been, then; 1: a bibliography covering the many narratives, diaries and memoirs, and the works written upon them, which have come down to us from last century; 2: Personal exploration and interviews with many of that race of pioneers who knew this west when the Indian thoroughfares were its main routes of travel.[1]

Compare any good geological or topographical map of Ohio with one of the old maps of last century, Hutchin's, Heckewelder's or Evan's, and it will not be difficult to determine, theoretically, the courses of the old highways.[2] Among the several guiding principles one is of very great help, and that, the general rule that the trails kept faithfully on the summit of the watersheds — for even what may be termed valley trails, as distinct from cross-country trails, kept well away from the river courses, often a mile or more back on the highlands.[3] Having once de-

[1] Among many the author owes a special debt of thanks, greater or less as the case may be, to the following gentlemen: Rev. David Yant of Bolivar; Mr. J. C. Zutavern of Zoar; Mr. Obadiah Brokaw of Stockport; Bishop Van Vleck of Gnadenhutten; Mr. F. C. Kinsey, Tuscarawas Co.; Mr. John Hovey of Akron; also J. Hope Sutor, Esq. of Zanesville; and the Hon. R. M. Stimson of Marietta.

[2] For early maps see Baldwin's *"Early Maps of Ohio and the West,"* tract twenty-five, Vol. 1. *"Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society Publications"* (April, 1875). Also appended list of maps in possession of same society.

[3] Le Jeune wrote "The road to the Savages' cabins was very bad; it was necessary to ascend a very steep mountain." (*Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. XI, p. 91). "Steep rugged hills were to be clomb," wrote one who followed Braddock's army through the Alleghanies on the Indian road; "headlong declivities to be descended, down which the cannon and wagons

termined the course of a given trail it is ordinarily an easy task, by inquiring in the region through which it passed, to prove by living witnesses its actual course. There is not an Indian thoroughfare in Ohio which it is not possible to identify, in portions at least, by means of the testimony of living men. Trails (7), (2) and (4) are especially interesting to locate, because they are cross-country trails and follow so faithfully the highland ranges. The author has never attempted to follow trail (6), but has as little doubt of its being capable of easy identification as of its former existence.

It may be valuable to give a detailed description of some of the important trails, if only to show what information it is yet possible to obtain of them:

MONONGAHELA TRAIL (7).
(VIRGINIAN DIVISION.)

Left Old Chillicothe — met Muskingum trail north of Stockport, Morgan Co., O. — left Muskingum valley at Big Rock — crossed Ohio river at Belpre, Washington Co., O. — passed Neal's Station (now Baltimore and Ohio station Ewing's) to Turtle Run — went north of Kanawha Station — over Eaton's Tunnel, B. & O. R'y. — on Dry Ridge northeast into Dodridge Co., W. Va. — through Martin's woods — north of Greenwood to Center Station — east to West Union tunnel ("No. 6" or Gorham's) — thence to headwaters of Middle Island creek — up Middle Island creek to Tom's Fork — on into Harrison county to headwaters of Ten Mile creek — down creek to Monongahela river. The course of this trail was described to the writer by an old Virginian mountaineer who lived near it and who hunted upon it when it was what the Baltimore and Ohio railway is in this day to that rugged country. The testimony of Dr. Hildreth in his chapter on "Carpenter's Bar" in *"Pioneer Sketches"* proves the correctness of the description, so far as it goes. The trail may be identified above the tunnels mentioned, or by striking south to Dry Ridge from the station Petroleum on the Baltimore and Ohio railway.

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were lowered with blocks and tackle." (Journal in *"History of Braddock's Expedition," p. 203*).

THE GREAT TRAIL (2).

The great trail from Fort Pitt to Detroit descended the Ohio river from Fort Pitt to the mouth of the Big Beaver — struck northwest to headwaters of Yellow Creek — passed north of New Lisbon on highlands between headwaters of Big Beaver streams and Yellow Creek — came down into Big Sandy valley — passed near Bayard, Columbiana Co., Pekin (now Minerva), Stark Co., Waynesburg and Sandyville, crossing Nimishillen creek half mile above Sandyville — crossed Muskingum (now Tuscarawas) at the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" at the new mouth of Big Sandy — struck northwest, passing through old Baptist burying ground one-half mile south of Wooster—crossed the Killbuck north of the bridge on the Ashland road — westward near present site of Reedsburg to the Indian town, Mohican John's town — thence northwest near the present Castalia, Erie Co., to Fort Sandusky on Sandusky Bay — thence by River Raisin and Detroit river to Fort Detroit. Two living men, Mr. J. C. Zutavern, of Zoar, and the venerable Rev. David Yant, of Bolivar, described the course of the Great Trail from Fort Pitt to the Muskingum to the writer without contradictions. Mr. Zutavern came to Ohio from Fort Pitt in 1819, but crossed the Ohio river at Wellsville, Columbiana Co., met the Great Trail near Bayard and followed it thence to the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" (Bolivar).

MUSKINGUM TRAIL (9).

[IN TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.]

Take for instance this, the Muskingum trail, in Tuscarawas county, to show how fully men yet living may be able to describe the course of the old time highway. The writer learns that descending the Muskingum (now Tuscarawas) on the western bank, it crossed Sugar Creek near the present site of Canal Dover — crossed Stone creek at its mouth — crossed Old Town creek at its mouth — thence on the highland farms of A. W. Patrick, A. Rupert, David Anderson, Elia Mathias, Chas. Kinsey (who was the writer's guide), P. F. Kinsey, Sweitzer heirs — crossed Frye's creek — farms of B. Gross and Wyant — fol-

MAP

OF

TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.

[The map of Tuscarawas County will show that it may be possible to map the whole State of Ohio if all the ground were covered carefully. On the northern line is the famous "Crossing Place of the Muskingum," on the Great Trail from Fort Pitt to Fort Detroit. This ford is one of the most famous in the west. Its exact site has been pointed out to the writer by the venerable David Yant. It was exactly at the spot where the Big Sandy now enters the Tuscarawas, having broken from its ancient course and reaching the river some distance from the old time estuary. Half a mile south of the site of the old ford may be seen the site of Fort Laurens, the first fort built in Ohio. Colonel Boquet followed the Great Trail from Fort Pitt, but turned south after crossing the river, following the route indicated toward the Delaware capitol at Gosh-gos-hing (Coshocton). The river trail (Muskingum) came down the river and illustrates what has been said concerning river trails keeping away from the river itself in order to follow the most practicable course. The author has also mapped this trail by townships, showing its course through each farm. Every inch of this county is worthy of the most searching investigation. Near the old-time highway lies the dust of the heroic Zeisberger. From it are seen the quiet hamlets of Gnadenhutten and Shoenbrunn, and the rise of ground which marks the site of Fort Laurens. It is the most historic of all our interior counties, indeed, with the exception of Washington, the most historic county in the State.]

lowed Tuscarawas to site of Moravian town, Salem (now Port Washington) — thence turned westward onto hills toward Chili, Coshocton county.

MONONGAHELA TRAIL (7).

(OHIO DIVISION.)

Crossed Fairfield and Perry counties coming from the Scioto valley — descended Wolf creek in Morgan county to Mills Hall farm — thence over the highland and down ridge thirty rods east of Eve's schoolhouse — Little Wolf creek on farm formerly owned by Jeremiah Stevens on old Harmar and Lancaster road — thence over ridge to William Pickett farm on branch of Bald Eagle creek — down creek to hills behind Stockport — thence onto Wallace Ridge between Stockport and Roxbury stations of the Zanesville and Ohio River R'y. (where picture was taken as shown in frontispiece, opposite site of Big Bottom Blockhouse) — left Muskingum at Big Rock, one-half mile above railway station Luke Chute — crossed over the ridge and crossed the west branch of Wolf Creek at the mouth of Turkey Run — through farm of George Conner — through Quigley flats — crossed south branch of Wolf creek about two miles above its junction with the west branch — thence due southeast on highlands to a point opposite the mouth of the Little Kanawha — thence to Monongahela as described under Virginian division

The historical side of our subject is capable of indefinite expansion. The Indian trails of the old Ohio were the keys to the central west. They opened a way for men to come to know and exploit it. The story of the first adventurers who followed these trails beyond "the Great Mountains" is of intense interest. To Walker and Boone and Gist and Washington, men who lived on and beside the winding trails of the west, we owe our first knowledge of the land and the first endeavors to awaken a desire to reclaim it from savage hands.[1]

[1] In "Extracts from *'An Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies'*" in Darlington's *"Journals of Cristopher Gist"* (p. 271), we find this tribute to the trader in informing the world of the West: "The Map of Ohio, and its Branches, as well as the Passes through

HECKEWELDER'S MANUSCRIPT MAP.

It is unnecessary to state who John Heckewelder was or why the map from his pen is of great value and interest. Several trails are here given which are not to be found on any other maps; the branching trail from the Mahoning to Great Trail, and the Lake Shore Trail; also the trail from the Crossing Place of the Muskingum to the Portage Path in Summit County. No map gives the trail up the Walhounding and Vernon rivers, which was travelled by a portion of the Moravian pilgrims when driven from the Muskingum. It would be expected that Heckewelder would give it, but he does not.]

Christopher Gist employed trails 2,[1] 12, 11, 1, and 14, while exploring the west for the first Ohio Company. George Washington knew every mile of Nemacolin's Path from Fort Cumberland, Md., to the "Forks of the Ohio." In his mission to Fort la Boeuf he traversed No. 13 from the present site of Pittsburg.

In addition to the explorers and spies, the brave missionaries came westward on the Indian trails. In some instances they were the first white men to travel certain trails. "Why does the pale-face travel so unknown a road," called an old Seneca chieftain from the door of his lodge to the heroic Zeisberger, pushing westward, "this is no road for white people and no white man has come this trail before." One of the most interesting maps made of early Ohio is in the handwriting of John Heckewelder, so long a faithful Moravian missionary in the Muskingum valley. This gives several trails not given on other maps. The knowledge gained by the first missionaries to the central west of the Indian nations and the geography of the land, was often of greatest value to the United States in peace and in war. The men who came into the central west in the hope of Christianizing the redman were fit successors to the brave "black robes" of the St. Lawrence and Huron country, whose heroism stands unparalleled in the annals of missionary endeavor.

If the Indian trails were useful to explorers in the west, they were indispensable to the first armies. Single men could, in time, push their way through pathless forests. For bodies of men hastening to a certain goal, carrying on their backs a limited supply of food, this was out of the question. Consequently, when the Indian thoroughfares of the west are once

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the Mountains Westward, is laid down by the Information of Traders and others, who have resided there, and travelled them for many years together."

[1] Monday (Nov.) 26 (1750): "From this Place (Logg's Town) We left the River Ohio to the S E & travelled across the Country." (*Gist's Journals*, p. 35). Mr. Gist on this trail — 2 — gave his courses "N 45 W 10 M, & N 45 W 8 M," which Mr. Darlington corrected to "W 8 M and N 45 W 6 M. Do., p. 36.)

outlined, an interesting introduction to the "winning of the west" is gained. These routes show at once the availability of certain rivers as highways for the transportation of troops and supplies; they show at a glance the strategic military points, where, in many cases, fort or stockade arose; and they indicate the distribution and the centers of Indian population. The rivers, save the Ohio, ran north and south. The Indian trails ran, largely, east and west. The conquest was westward; and it is to be noted that it was made river valley by river valley until at last the conquest, begun on the Monongahela and little Bushy Run, was ended in triumph at Tippecanoe on the Wabash. First the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers were reclaimed and held by Boquet, who avenged Braddock's Ford at Bushy Run (1762). In the year following Boquet advanced to the Muskingum, where he firmly brought the Delaware and Shawanese contingent of Pontiac's host to terms. A decade later Lewis won the decisive battle of Point Pleasant at the mouth of the Great Kanawha and secured all the benefits for Kentucky settlers formerly granted by the Stanwix treaty, but which had been repudiated by the arrogant Shawanese of the Scioto Valley. Half a decade later General McIntosh pushed through to the Muskingum and built Fort Laurens "to serve as a bridle upon the savages in the heart of their own country" (1778). At this time we may consider the Muskingum valley to have been reclaimed, for the next step westward was Crawford's campaign directed toward the Sandusky valley. It resulted in failure, but the conquest of the Scioto and Sandusky valleys was achieved by the Kentuckians in the border wars waged from 1780 to 1785. Another determined step was made in 1790 and was toward the Maumee and Wabash, which were finally reclaimed by the treaty of Greenville, wrung by Wayne from the disconcerted allied nations under Little Turtle in 1795. Thus the conquest of the central west was by river valleys, on Indian trails. For, to restate the story of this conquest in the terms suggested by our present study, we should say: The first military movement in the central west was the building of the French military road from Presqu'ile to Fort La Boeuf, on French Creek, in 1753. This road was twenty

miles in length and followed the alignment of the Venango trail, or 13. This road was used in bringing forward the fortification for the line of French forts between Lake Erie and the Ohio river.[1]

Two years later Braddock was sent westward to capture Fort Duquesne. His advance corps of six hundred choppers cleared the way for the army following Nemacolin's Path, at least as far as the present site of Uniontown, Pa., whence the road swung northward to the memorable ford.[2] In 1762 Boquet was sent westward from Philadelphia to annihilate Pontiac's allies who were doggedly beleaguring Fort Pitt. At Bushy Run, in a terrible three days' battle, he confirmed the dying Braddock's words, "We shall do better next time," and soon after raised the siege of Fort Pitt. In the year following, consequent upon orders, Boquet began a further westward conquest, across the Ohio river. His was the first military expedition into the present state of Ohio, and it followed the course of the Great Trail from Fort Pitt to the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum."[3] In Dunmore's war Lewis was sent over the Sandusky-Richmond trail from Virginia to compel the Shawnese to acknowledge the Fort Stanwix treaty. In 1778 General McIntosh was sent with an expedition toward Detroit. He built a road straight

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[1] *Hist. Erie Co. Penn.*

[2] "The truth is, that Sir John (St. Clair) implicitly followed the path that Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian, had marked out or blazed for the Ohio Company some years before, and which, a very little widened, had served the transient purposes of that association and of Washington's party in 1754." Journals in *"History of Braddock's Expedition,"* p. 200. Of Braddock's battlefield we read in the same volume (p. 355), "The place of action was covered with large trees, and much underbrush upon the left, without any opening but the road, which was about twelve foot wide." Warfare along the trails of Canada is often noted by the Jesuit missionaries: "These murders are imputed to the enemies who throughout the summer and autumn are in ambushes along the roads." (*Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. XX. p. 75); "As for the war their (Huron) losses have been greater than their enemies; for the whole matter consisting of a few broken heads along the highways" (do. XIX, p. 81). Also see *"Sketches of Pioneer History*, pp. 205, 206.

[3] See map accompanying *"Boquets Expedition Against the Ohio Indians,"* pp. 149–152.

MAP

OF

WAYNE'S ROUTE ALONG THE MAUMEE.

[This map is a copy from the original by Dr. Belknap, now in the library at Harvard, and the only map of Wayne's campaign. It is to be regretted that it does not comprehend the army's entire route from Fort Washington (Cincinnati). It will be noticed that the Miami Trail descending the Auglaize is given, also diverging paths from Fort Wayne, by which General Wayne came from the south. From Fort Wayne a dotted line is given as the route of the portage path, between the Maumee and Wabash. This portage path was one of the most important in the northern half of the old Ohio, being one of the original French routes from the lakes to the Mississippi. The course of the path is today practically the route of the Wabash Railway. In many instances the old routes of travel, which followed the path of least resistance, have become the route of railway beds today.[1] This is true here; it is also true of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, through the passes in the Allegheny Mountains, which followed the portage path between the New and Great Kanawha rivers.]

1 *Ohio in 1788* p. 75; Howe II, 831.

west from Fort Pitt to the Ohio, built Fort McIntosh at the mouth of Beaver river, and then marched over the Great Trail to the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" where Fort Laurens was erected, "in the heart of the enemies' country." Although he intended to avoid all Indian trails,[1] Colonel Crawford's ill-starred expedition did follow an Indian trail even before reaching the Muskingum;[2] and, later, the battle was fought in the forks of the two trails and the retreat was conducted along a trail[3] to the Muskingum and "Williamson's trace"[4] from the Muskingum to the Ohio.

In 1790 Harmar was sent northward, building his road from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) to Fort Jefferson on the general alignment, probably, of a northward trail. St. Clair was annihilated in attempting to retrieve Harmar's mistakes, but the wily Wayne pushed on, now by Indian trail, now through pathless swamps (meriting the name given him by the savages, "Black Snake"[5]) and settled forever the question of white man's conquest at Fallen Timbers. Dr. Belknap's map, appended, is not only valuable in giving Wayne's route, but also for giving the general course of the diverging trails from Maumee southward. A chart giving Indian trails with their use to the armies which completed the conquest of Ohio from the savages may be in place:

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[1] Letter of Rose to Irving 13th June, 1782 (In State Department, Washington). Cf. *Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky*, p. 138.

[2] Do., p. 202.

[3] Do., p. 221.

[4] A blazed trace from Ohio river, Mingo Bottom, straight west to Muskingum river. Followed by Williamson's band of murderers who committed the Gnadenhutten outrage.

[5] Wayne built Fort Recovery on St. Clair's battlefield, June 1794. To deceive Little Turtle he then turned west to St. Mary's River and built Fort Adams. In July, he doubled his track and built Fort Defiance at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee.

Trails	Military Roads	Remarks
Venango (13)	French road Ft. Presq'-isle-Ft. LeBoeuf (1753)	Furnished armament and supplies for French forts in Ohio.
Nemacolin's Path (See 2)	Braddock's Road (1755)	Departed from path near present Uniontown, Pa.
Great Trail (2)	Boquet's Road (1763)	Expedition ended Pontiac's war in Ohio.
Sandusky-Richmond (10)	Lewis' route to Point Pleasant	Expedition secured freedom for Kentucky settlers.
Great Trail (2)	McIntosh's route to Muskingum	Expedition erected Forts Laurens and McIntosh.
Miami (5) (?)	Harmar's Road N. from Ft. Washington	Opened way for Wayne.
Ft. Miami (1)	Wayne's route to Fallen Timbers	Resulted in Treaty of Greenville and peace.
Mingo (6)	"Federal Trail"[1]	

After spies, explorers, missionaries and armies came the deluge — of pioneers. History furnishes no parallel to this instantaneous filling of an imperial domain with a free population, achieving almost on the instant of occupation a large measure of the blessings of liberty. The population of Kentucky increased 300 per cent. in a decade and Ohio and Indiana almost equalled this. Thousands of immigrants to Kentucky and Ohio came by the Ohio river, after compassing the difficult journey over Braddock's Road. But more came by land

[1] *History of Morgan County*, p. 126.

over Warrior's Path through Cumberland Gap.[1] This was the second most famous continental thoroughfare, being somewhat lessened in importance by the building of the National Road over Braddock's Road and through Ohio to Kentucky. But the Cumberland Gap route never lost its importance and offers to-day, perhaps more than any road in the central west, a journey of surpassing interest to the tourist who dares undertake it. The route early became known as the "Wilderness Road." It was marked out by the sturdy hand of Daniel Boone. In 1775 the Transylvania Company, with Colonel Richard Henderson as head, engaged Boone to mark out a road from Fort Wataga, on a branch of the Holston, to the Kentucky river, where the company's newly-purchased lands lay. "This I accepted," wrote Boone, "and undertook to mark out a road in the best passage through the wilderness to Kentucky with such assistance as I thought necessary to employ for such an important undertaking."[2] Boone's road went through Cumberland Gap over the course of the "Warrior's Path," but at some distance from the gap left the Indian trail and followed a buffalo trace toward the desired destination, the mouth of Otter creek on the Kentucky river. Here Fort Boonesborough was erected. As clearly shown by Mr. Speed in his most valuable mono-

[1] Two publications, one a monograph and the other a magazine article, comprise all the previous work in the study of old highways so far as the author knows. The monogram, Speed's *"Wilderness Road"* is one, and R. G. Thwaite's article in the *New England Magazine* (November 1896) on Braddock's Road is the other. To the *Wilderness Road* the author owes a great debt for information and inspiration. On Mr. Speed's authority we make the startling assertion above; *"Wilderness Road,"* pp. 11, 22, 23 and 42.

Among the many references in many books to Indian trails the author cannot refrain from quoting one which is out of the ordinary. It is from Douglass' *History of Wayne Co. O.*, p. 166: "These brigands and vagrants, no doubt like other birds of passage, had their chosen and well understood courses of travel, but to assume to trace or define them would be playing spendthrift with time and a culpable distortion of the legitimate bent of investigation. Nor is it important to indulge what must be bald fancy and gratuitous speculation on a matter so sterile of historical uses and so profitless to the public."

[2] Boone's *Autobiography;* also *Wilderness Road*, pp. 25, 26.

graph, Boone's route became a momentous factor in the early history of Kentucky. To be sure the Ohio river was the great highway thither, but it was not until near the beginning of this century that that river became the customary route, for previous to that time river traveling was exceedingly dangerous and boat building and the hazardous risks to be encountered in sailing decided many thousands to undertake the longer but surer land route over the "Wilderness Road." When, however, the National Road was built from Cumberland to the Ohio river, 1823, and shipping facilities were available, the Wilderness Road became, comparatively, forgotten. Yet it had been used long enough to influence decidedly the distribution of population in the southern half of the old Ohio, tomahawk claims along its course becoming thriving villages, villages becoming cities and the meadow lands at its destination becoming the home of the hardiest race of men, according to the most ingenious of our scholars, in all our republic.

But not only did the great continental routes, Braddock's Road and the Wilderness Road, serve the pioneer; the maze of minor trails leading into every portion of the land invited him onward into the perennial twilight of the woods. It is a fair question, and introduces an interesting theme, to ask, "What proportion of Ohio's early interior population made its way by water and what proportion by land routes?"

The testimony of all with whom the writer has conversed and who knew whereof they spoke, renders it possible to believe that the more careful the investigation the clearlier it will be proved that the Indian trails and not the rivers were the routes of the early settlers into the interior. The following sentence from one of the histories of an interior (but on a navigable river) county is pertinent: "James Oglesby was a very early settler in the township, some say the earliest. He also came from Virginia and is said to have travelled up the Muskingum and Walhounding rivers, in true Indian style, in a canoe."[1] This occurs in a twenty-five page account of the early settlements in the county, and of few settlers is it

[1] Hunt's *Historical Collections of Coshocton County*, p. 37.

suggested that they came by a water route. In this connection, however, it is well to remember that the very vanguard of the pioneer host did not usually settle anywhere permanently. There was a familiar expression, "following the emigration," which reveals the adventurous spirit of the times. Pioneers came and settled in what was an unbroken wilderness. In a few years the district began to fill and the first comers would pull up stakes and advance westward another stage. Thus the first settlers in any given district of Ohio and Indiana often hailed from only a short distance away, and it is not possible to believe that they came by a long, difficult water-route. This was usually the case, with notable exceptions of course, and quite precludes the argument that water routes were chosen by the first of the emigrant army. And those who came in the wake of others who had "followed the emigration," came by the same routes.

An interesting proof of the use made of Indian trails by the white man is found in the blazed trees which line them. There is not an important trail in Ohio which is not blazed, and it is wellknown that the redmen were not in the habit of blazing their trails.[1] The writer has been over Indian trails in other parts of the country (Northern Michigan and Canada) where the trees were not blazed. Why the white man found it necessary to blaze the well worn paths along their whole extent, and in spots where there was not the remotest possibility of one's losing his way, does not appear to the writer. But such is the case, and upon the high summit of the long ranges of hills one may to-day see upon the aged tree trunks savage gashes made

[1] The author has been surprised to find that it is the popular opinion that Indians blazed their paths. To those interested a study of the following references will prove that no such custom existed among the Indians: *Jes. Rel. and Doc.* Vol. VII: 109; Vol. XIX: 45, 129. *The Wilderness Road,* p. 15. The borderers of Kentucky were drawn into the fatal battle of Blue Licks because they followed headlong the route of the wily Indians, who by blazing the trees and leaving garments on the ground made it seem that they were in full retreat. These un-Indian signs rendered Daniel Boone suspicious, but his advice was unheeded and a massacre was the result. For similar incident see *History of the Maumee Valley*, pp. 86 and 107; cf. *History of Hamilton County*, p. 221; *History of Muskingum County*, p. 67.

not less than a century ago, as the writer has ascertained by a study of the blazes made in Washington county on roads laid out by the surveyors of the Ohio Company, 1795-1800.

In one instance, on the Monongahela trail on Wallace Ridge, Morgan county, as one passes northward along the ridge, a line of blazed trees is found running from the trail at right angles, to a mass of rocks, distant about a hundred yards, wherein a cave offered a night's protection, or a spring, no sign of which exists today, may have refreshed the wayfarer. Everyone from whom information has been acquired testifies that the Indian trails were common blazed routes of travel for the pioneers. The Muskingum trail in Tuscarawas county has every appearance of having been carefully built. At one place on a hillside the embankment on the lower side is three feet high and seemingly as strong as ever. An old man living on the line of this trail affirmed that he could recall early in the century, when the trail was commonly used, and he remembered with the vivid recollections of youth the coming of the travelling Punch and Judy shows that way. Yet a study of the records in the Recorder's office at the county seat, New Philadelphia, fail to throw any light on the subject, although the record of road building goes back to 1797. Mr. Zutavern, already quoted, traversed the old highway from Pittsburg to Laurenceville, as the "Crossing Place of the Muskingum" was known early in the century, in 1819. He came over the roadway built from Fort Pitt straight west to the Ohio river by General McIntosh, crossing the Ohio at Wellsville and striking northwest until the Great Trail was met near Bayard. This was perhaps the general route of pioneer travel from Pittsburg to central Ohio. It was then, in 1819, a rough, wide Indian trail and unimproved. The trail from Ft. Presqu 'ile to French Creek, the line of Marin's military road of 1753, became a notable thoroughfare early in the century. This "Watertown turnpike" was really a portage path between Lake Erie and the Alleghany. Over it great quantities of salt were forwarded by water to Pittsburg and Louisville, and, in return, glass and flour came up from the Monongahela country and bacon from Kentucky en route to the east.[1] Travellers

[1] Egle's *History of Pennsylvania,* p. 271.

leave record of the strange appearance of this old roadway. In the expectation of making it a military road in the European sense, the course had been grubbed by hauling out the stumps of the felled trees. Great cavities were left and never filled.[1] However it served for hauling cannon toward Forts La Boeuf, Venango and Duquesne.

Not only were the Indian trails used largely by the pioneers, opening the way to a distribution of population over the face of the land, but they became the course of our first roads. The day of the ridge road is not long passed and in most instances the ridge road was only the trail of the buffalo, Indian and pioneer, widened and improved. The first road upon which Kentucky spent money was the old trail, blazed by Boone, through Cumberland Gap. The National Road from Cumberland, Md., to Wheeling, W. Va., Zanesville, Ohio, Maysville, Ky., and Lexington, Ky., followed the famous Braddock Road, as already stated, at least as far as Uniontown, Pa. From Wheeling to Zanesville and on to the Ohio river again it followed Zane's trace, which did not, probably, follow an Indian trail[2]. The money behind this epoch-making enterprise made it possible to push this road straight through. While climbing a country road in West Virginia the writer noted the trees which were blazed by the first surveyors, the gashes of which are still yawning. As the road reached the summit it met and crossed the Monongahela trail, not far from the spot where Tecumseh's murderous banditti opened fire upon Nicholas Carpenter, Jesse Hughes and party, just as Carpenter began his morning devotions and was singing the old West End Baptist hymn, "*Awake our souls, away our fears.*" At the junction of the two thoroughfares stands an aged tree. On the side toward the country road was the fresh, ugly blaze of the road surveyors. On the side toward the trail was the deep, partly-healed blaze of the Long Knives — two trade marks of the two centuries. In one instance the writer, while following the Mus-

[1] *History Erie County* (Penn.)

[2] But vide *History of Muskingum County*, p. 67, which affirms that Zane's trace ran nearly with a trail; perhaps general alignment of Mingo trail for a distance.

MAP

OF

PORTAGE PATH.

[No oldtime highway in Ohio is of more historic interest than the Portage Path in Summit County, at least in proportion to its length. It is probably one of the oldest highways in the west, having been the route of the buffaloes across the summit of the State. In later years it became the portage for the Indians from the lake country to the streams flowing south to the country of their enemies, the Creeks and Cherokees and Mobilians. It may have been traversed by La Salle on his trip to the Ohio, but he probably followed the Lake Chautauqua–Allegheny route. Some hold that he came through Ohio, and he argument, at least, suggests the importance of this portage path. It is said in the text that it is possible to know the exact course of this path for the entire distance of eight miles. Maps of Summit County are still to be seen bearing a faint line which marks its course. The author, after several visits, has become acquainted with the ground. From two men, Mr. John Hovey, of Akron, and Rev. David Yant, of Bolivar, he has obtained descriptions of the path in early days of this century. Merchandise from Cleveland was brought up the Cuyahoga river, over the portage and down the Tuscarawas to the inland settlements. Mr. Hovey remembers, particularly, the bewildering circuitousness of the trail as it came from the hills and approached the Cuyahoga. In the city of Akron the writer found the original survey of this path, made in 1797 by Moses Warren. It is an interesting and highly amusing document. The length of the path was found to be eight miles, four chains and 55 links.]

kingum trail in Tuscarawas county, was informed by an old resident that if he continued a certain number of miles he would find himself in a good travelled road. This proved to be true — the old highway has never been closed up and one may drive, if on horseback, freely from the best of county roads into the old-time Indian highway without hindrance, as shown in the accompanying photograph. The old Portage Path between the Tuscarawas and Cuyahoga rivers in Summit county, was one of the most important trails for its length (eight miles) in the state. Having been defined as a portion of the western boundary of the United States in the treaties of Fort McIntosh (1785) and Fort Harmar (1789), this narrow trail became a significant landmark. In studying this subject the writer found that all the surveys made east of this trail were of a different kind from those made on the western side at a later date, and that the course of this trail was indicated much of the way by a line fence. The course of this trail has always been marked by a faint line on the maps of Summit county. A new road has been building between these self-same streams, and in August, '98, it had crossed the old path seven times in seven miles and for some distances the two courses are identical. Thus the tripod has been as successful in finding the path of least resistance as was the instinct of the buffalo! Another chart may be useful in bringing out distinctly the further historical development of certain trails:

Trails	Military Roads	Public Roads
Nemacolin's Path	Braddock's Road	National Road as far as Uniontown, Pa.
Warriors' Path		Blazed by Boone from Ft. Wataga, Tenn., to Boonesboro, Ky. (200 miles). Great pioneer route through Cumberland Gap.
Venango	French military road, Lake Erie to Allegheny River.	General course of Watertown (Pa.) Pike.
Miami (?)	Harmar's Road north from Fort Washington (Cincinnati)	Old "Hamilton" and "Eaton" Roads.
Muskingum	Possibly route of Broadhead's army in Coshocton campaign.	Public Road in Tuscarawas County in early years of the century.
Mahoning		Early traders' route from Pittsburg to Detroit (by water from Cleveland) described by Col. James Hilman.
Portage Paths	Tuscarawas - Cuyahoga, O. Maumee-Wabash, Ind. New-Kanawha, W. Va.	Practically route of present road.[1] General course of Wabash Railway. General course of Chesapeake & Ohio Railway.
Ft. Miami	Wayne's route	Road from Napoleon, Henry County, down Maumee practically identical with Wayne's route.

[1] See Note on map of Portage Path.

To one to whom such things appeal, nothing in cabinet or museum will create a more living interest in our past than to find one of the old-time thoroughfares and walk upon it — to see the valley and meadow from the Indian's points of vantage. To one who is imaginative, the old century comes back, and trail and forest are peopled. Border armies will hurry by carrying weapons strange to our eyes and dressed in fashions not in vogue to-day. The stream of immigrants will pass, the hard lines of rough faces speaking of the toil and suffering which made our present civilization possible. The subject, again, is the more interesting because of the sources of information which one must consult, the narratives and journals written in the olden time and living witnesses, too many of whom by far are carrying to the grave each day precious facts which can never afterward be revealed. The field work required, demanding no great expense, is not without pleasure and romance. It is safe travelling the Indian trails to-day; the poll tax once required on the old highways by redskin highwaymen is not collected in these days. Not a lone Indian will be found overlooking the spot "where he used to be born." Those who once pushed their horses along historic Harmar Hill with scalps dangling from the manes, or went whooping down the Mahoning and Scioto or toyed with the gate of Wolf Creek mill are now hunting the souls of the moose and beaver in the Land of the Souls, "walking on the souls of their snowshoes on the soul of the snow." But they have left their trails behind them — and nothing else, perhaps, so interesting, so pregnant with varied memories, so rich in historical suggestion.

"The ports ye shall not enter
The roads ye shall not tread
Go, make them with your living
And mark them with your dead."

And yet this has been our mission for a century. We have waited in heavy harness on "fluttered folk and wild." We have made our roads with our living and marked them all the way from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate with our dead. In more than one Ohio valley may be found an Indian trail on

the hilltop, a pioneer road winding along hillside and on summit, and a good pike in the valley, well built, scientifically drained. Each type of road speaks of the civilization which built it and between these three faint lines one may read the story of the hard-earned century now passing away.

THE ARKANSAS TRAVELLER.

By Thomas Wilson,
U. S. NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Some years of my teens were passed in the town of Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio. This was before any railroads passed through that country. I remember the first meeting of citizens ever held there (under the direction of Mr. Zadok Street) for the purpose of securing subscriptions of money or right-of-way for the construction of what was then to be the Ohio & Pennsylvania Railway, afterwards the Crestline, and finally the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago R. R. The natural highways for travel in Ohio were by the Ohio River on the south and Lake Erie on the north. The artificial water communication on the east was by the Pennsylvania Canal from Beaver to Erie, with a branch from Newcastle to Cleveland. In the center of Ohio was the great Ohio Canal from Cleveland to Portsmouth.

The paralellogram within these borders was served with travel, for passengers by the Ohio Stage Company, and for freight by the Conestoga wagons which had been in use from Philadelphia westward over the mountains before the building of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Canal and the construction of the Portage Railroad over the mountains. Pittsburg and Wheeling were the great centers for western distribution of goods, while Beaver and Wellsville were, from their position on the Ohio river, and the consequent communication with them by steamboat, subsidiary centers. The distribution from these points was accomplished by these great wagons on certain roads, in which the road, the route and the wagons almost corresponded to the great caravans of Oriental times.

The wagons were immense lumbering machines with broad tires three to five inches in width and an inch in thickness. The boxes or bodies were like unto the later "Prairie Schooners;" the keel was not straight as is usual at the present day, but highly

"The old highway has never been closed up." — p. 292.

curved, being low in the center or middle of the wagon and high in the air at the front and back. The body was of framework mortised together, the slats, both horizontal and perpendicular, conformed in curve to their respective body-pieces and standards in that they increased, and made the top end of the body to be higher and longer than was the bottom of the foundation. (See cut). They were provided with bows and covered with sail-cloth, an efficient protection against rain. The wagon had what was then called a "patent Lock," now so common as to have lost the terms "patent" and "lock" both, and become a "brake." The handle of the brake was managed by the driver from the ground. Occasionally it swung back and forth over the hind wheel and was pulled down by the weight of the driver and fastened with a chain to a spike or hook; occasionally it was at the rear of the wagon and was pushed from side to side and kept in place by a ratchet. The pole of these wagons was known as "stiff," that is it was fastened solid into the front hounds and did not fall to the ground, nor was it supported by the horses' necks. It was only used to steer and hold back, for which purpose long chains were fastened to its ends and attached by breast-chains to the hames.

The bodies of these wagons were set on bolsters and, of course, without springs. This, with their curve, brought them low in the center and gave the front wheels but little play in turning. The great length and weight of the wagon, with its six horses, made it a machine as unwieldy to turn or steer as a steamboat. The six horses were hitched to the wagon thus: the wheel horses with double and single trees fastened to the tongue and hounds by means of hammer and hammer-strap, the former serving as a bolt or pin; the middle leaders were hitched to double and single trees which hung by the middle hook in the iron loop at the end of the pole. From the same loop the lead-chain was hooked which, stretched between the middle leaders, received the hook of the double trees of the leaders. The driver used but a single line fastened to the bridle-rein of the near lead-horse. The lefthand side was the "near" side, the other the "off" side. The middle span of horses were the "middle leaders," the rear ones the "wheel horses." The near wheel

horse carried the saddle for the driver, on which he could mount as occasion demanded, but he rarely did. In driving, he walked by the side of the near wheel horse, carrying in his hand his Loudoun County black-snake whip, the single line attached to the lead horse being continually within reach. The rear end of the line was buckled to the hame of the wheel horse, high up, and was about long enough to clear the ground as it swung; when it was not in use its slack was hung over the hame. The line was used to guide the horses, more as a signal than by actual force. To pull it steadily without jerk means for the lead horse to come "haw" (to the left); two or three short jerks meant for him to go "gee" (to the right). By these signals, with the aid of his voice, the driver had perfect command of his team. The horses were large and heavy, the smallest span in the lead. Their motion was slow and dignified; each one seemed to lose his individuality, recognizing that he was only a unit in a great machine, and he acted accordingly. No horse ever seemed to take upon himself any individual action, he worked harmoniously with the rest, therefore a stranger had no control over the team and could neither drive nor manage them. They did not refuse to do his bidding, they simply ignored his existence. Occasionally a horse, being (as the indictments say) "moved and instigated by the devil," would grow sulky and balk. This was usually a new or untrained horse, frequently one sold or traded by the farmer or jockey on account of this very fault. Then came the contest between him and his driver, in which the latter must win or kill the horse; and cases of obstinacy have been known wherein he had to do the latter in order to accomplish the former.

The wagons were greased with tar. To perform the operation the wheel was usually pried up with a fence rail put under the axle until a bit of plank of the right height could be put under, which was kept from pressing into the ground by having a bit of board as a foundation. Two lengths of plank were required, one for the hind and one for the front wheel, and these were usually kept at the tavern for common use. The wheels were fastened on with linchpins which went through the extreme out end of the axle, and not with nuts and screws as in

later times. The linchpin was taken out with the hammer, the end of the handle of which was kept sharpened chisel-fashion for that purpose. The tar kettle swung on a hook fastened to the hind axle. A tool box was on the near side of the wagon body in the middle (shown in the cut) and contained a hatchet, wrench, gimlet, etc., etc., such as experience showed was needed.

The teams were usually owned by their drivers, who took care of them themselves. Some of the more celebrated teamsters on the road through to New Lisbon, Salem, Youngstown, were Berry Goodwin, Milo Grove, the Sell Brothers, Tom Williamson. There were others who were only occasionally on the road. Jake Sell was the best known and continued his work latest with his team reduced to five, and then to four, horses, until his trade was taken away entirely by the opening of the Ohio and Pennsylvania R. R. I remember the trip wherein he became celebrated for hauling over the road the heaviest load ever known; five tons and nearly a half (108 hundredweight). The horses wore great heavy harness, with straps and breeching four and five inches in width, made of double, and sometimes triple, plies of leather sewed together, and would last longer than the horses; collars and hames were correspondingly large and heavy, the latter always of wood and standing high above the collar. A leather, or goat-, sheep- or bear-skin shield or cape, with wool or fur outside, sometimes dyed in fancy colors, blue or red, was worn over the horses' withers to protect them from the rain and prevent them from chafing, which would happen if the rain was allowed to get under the collar. Holes were cut in these shields which fitted the protruding ends of the hames, and thus they were kept in place without further fastening. The bridle reins were hooked over the hames outside the capes.

Many teams wore bells, usually three to each horse; they were attached to a steel or iron bow, the ends of which, brought together, were inserted into two projecting loops or keepers on the upright ends of each hame. The stepping motion of the horse kept up a continual ringing of the bells, which made music for the driver and could be heard in the stillness of the summer day through the adjoining fields, attracting the attention of every boy, and man too, within a mile of the road. The bells

were of different sizes, the center one in the arch being the size of a small cow bell, the outside ones being smaller and, if there were five in the row, they were about the size of a sheep bell. They were attuned in harmony and thus made a concord of sweet sounds. It was only the well-to-do driver with an æsthetic taste who indulged in bells. Every boy along the road knew Jake Sell's bell-team and could tell whether it had passed up or down, and when. A tradition was told me by my father of a rich old wagoner, Whittenberry, who owned ten teams, all with bells. As they went out from the depot or starting point, several together, the old man listened to the harmonious tones of the jingling bells as they took from the stately tread of the dignified horses a regular rhythm which to his delighted ear resolved itself into words (as does the ticking clock, sometimes), that gratified his proud old heart as they seemed to chant to him in unison: "Whittenberry's ten teams, Whittenberry's ten teams, Whittenberry's ten teams." One of the rules of the road was that no driver should ever pass a stalled team without helping it. A gentleman with a lady might pass and leave them without remark, but a mere or common man, never! I have seen a procession of teams, heavy and light, standing in line while their drivers were helping a brother in difficulty. In the case of bell teams, the penalty or salvage, so to speak, for this aid, was their bells, which the unfortunate driver had to take from off his horses and give to the team that had assisted him.

These teams had their regular routes of travel and every boy along the line knew the team by the appearance of the wagon, the number and color of the horses, and so was able to identify the individual team from any field in the farm as soon as the wagon made its appearance over the hills. There were many of these teams in operation. The wagoners were compelled to stop early enough to groom their horses before it became too dark to work. They began their journey early in the morning and usually made a distance of fifteen, never more than twenty, miles a day. As far as possible, they had their regular stopping places, although they rarely allowed the latter to curtail the day's journey. Arrived at the stopping

place, the horses were taken out, stripped of their harness, watered, fed, curried, etc. The wagoner carried a big feed box swung from hooks and chains to the back part of his wagon; this he lifted clear from its place, put up the end of the wagon tongue with a light St. Andrew's cross of wood which he carried with him and fastened the feed trough on the tongue by inserting the hook in the front end of the trough into a corresponding slot or keeper in the tongue; while the rear end was kept in place by a corresponding strap with a hole in it which received the wagon hammer, the doubletrees being taken off and disposed of under the wagon. The horses were fastened to the pole or the trough and stood out all night. They were driven into the great wagon-yard for this purpose, and it was not unusual to see, at a popular station or tavern, five or six of these great ships of travel (pioneers of civilization) arranged around the wagon-yard. The wagoner always, or nearly always, bought his feed from the tavern keeper by the bushel, and fed as much or as little as he pleased.

The wagoners ate at the table with other guests, travelers, gentlemen, ladies, what-not, for they were just as good as anybody else. But it was not usual for them to occupy either bed or room at the tavern; they carried their own beds in the form of a mattress, containing all the clothes necessary for warmth and, being rolled together and strapped, was placed in the front of the wagon, the cover being drawn tightly over it. These rolls of bedding were brought into the tavern in the early evening, but stacked in the corner of the bar-room until bed-time, when they were unrolled and straightened out on the floor, the places being chosen by pre-emption, "first come, first served." After supper, and from that till bed-time, these bar-rooms were scenes of fun and frolic.

The stations on the road from Pittsburg to Salem I remember well: Backhouse Tavern, Sewickly, Economy, Freedom, Bridgewater, Douthit's, Darlington, Palestine, Roose's, Colum-

biana, Franklin Square, Salem. There were three taverns in Salem: Webb's Tavern at the western, Wilson's in the center, and the Golden Fleece at the eastern side of the town. This last was originally kept by an old settler, Aaron Hise. He had a large family mostly grown to man- and womanhood. The oldest one became a celebrated steamboat builder at New Albany, Indiana. These were all sober, temperate, industrious and proper men and women. They obtained a good education. The men all became excellent mechanics and skilled artisans. The family were noble men and women and made the best of citizens. They were all musicians or, at least, had musical genius. The girls could sing, and many a day I have worked full ten hours with Howell Hise, listening to his singing and whistling, and finished the evening with a concert of our own at Hinchellwood's, where Jesse played the clarionet, George Hinchellwood and I the flutes, while Phoebe and Lizzie sang.

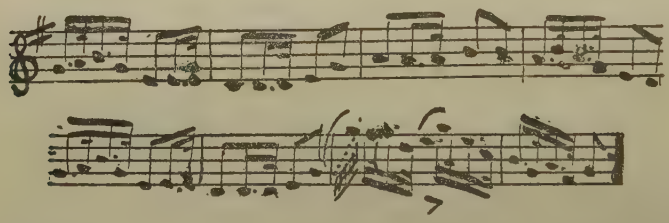
Each of the taverns standing along the road naturally exerted itself to present the greatest attractions to the traveller in order to secure the greatest amount of custom. The chief attraction in early times at the "Golden Fleece" was the music, the *chef d'oeuvre* of which was considered to be the "Arkansas Traveller." The residents always kept their attention upon any night when it was likely this play would be enacted, and if it should get out through the town that this was to be given, that night would surely see the old bar-room packed to the utmost.

The horses fed and cared for, supper over, the rows of bedding brought in and stacked in the corner, the big table which stood against the wall brought out into the center of the room, and one of the boys (it made slight difference which) mounted thereon seated on any kind of a broken-backed or no-backed chair, and commenced to play the first part of the tune. After playing it once or twice to familiarize the new members of his audience, he prefaced the performance with an explanation, a sort of prologue, that which would be called in our modern librettos, the "Argument." It was, according to my remembrance, about as follows:

The scene represented, the *locale*, is in Arkansas, and he (the player) is to represent an Arkansas squatter (a fiddler),

who has been down the Mississippi river to New Orleans and had, of course, attended the theater. He has heard for the first time this tune, "The Arkansas Traveller," played by the theater orchestra. He was enraptured with it; it made an impression upon him, and he did his best to remember it so that he could play it, but his fiddle was at home and his "best" was by whistling and drumming and otherwise to impress it upon his memory.

The opening of the story represents this Arkansas squatter, just returned from his trip to New Orleans, and his first move is to get down his fiddle and attempt to reproduce the tune. He has already picked out the first part, but the second is too much for him and he fails in it. Therefore he is compelled to content himself by playing the first part only.



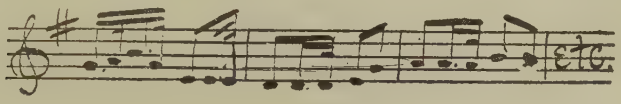
While he is engaged in playing it over and over and over again, the "Arkansas Traveller" makes his appearance and the play begins. So one of the boys would play this in different keys and to different time; improvising right and left in it, playing it high and low as a master *improvisator* could be expected, but the last part of the tune continually evaded him. While thus engaged, his brother would enter the room dressed in the guise of a Traveller, and make his way up to the front part of the circle around the player, who would stop a little, maybe to tune a string, straighten the bridge or tighten the nut on his bow, when the alleged stranger asks him a question.

Of course I cannot remember the entire dialogue — I do not know that it was ever given twice in the same way. It was largely a matter of improvisation, depending upon the skill and ability of the players, the humor they were in, the time at their command, and the extent to which the audience could

arouse the enthusiasm of the players. The first question was by the traveller:

Traveller: "How do you do, stranger?"

Squatter: "Do pretty much as I please, sir." (Plays first part only.)

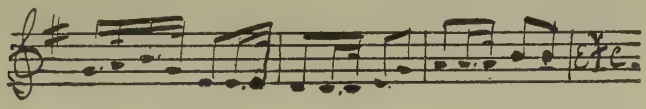


Traveller: "Stranger, do you live about here?"

Squatter: "I reckon I don't live anywheres else!" (Plays first part only.)

Traveller: "Well, how long have you lived here?"

Squatter: "See that big tree there? Well, that was there when I came here." (Plays first part.)



Traveller: "Well, you needn't be so cross about it; I wasn't asking no improper questions at all!"

Squatter: "Reckon there's nobody cross here except yourself!" (Plays first part only.)

Traveller (proposing a modification): "How did your potatoes turn out here last year?"

Squatter: "They didn't turn out at all; we dug 'em out." (Plays first part only.)

Traveller: "Can I stay here all night?"

Squatter: "Yes, you kin stay right where you air, out en the road." (Plays first part.)

Traveller: "How far is it to the next tavern?"

Squatter: "I reckon it's upward of some distance." (Plays first part.)

Traveller: "How long will it take for me to get there?"

Squatter: "You'll not git there at all, if ye stay here foolin' with me." (Plays, always first part.)

Traveller: "Got any spirits in your house?"

Squatter: "Do you think my house is haunted? Plenty of 'em down in the grave-yard!" (Plays.)

Traveller: "How far is it to the forks of the road?"

Squatter: "Hit haint forked sence I've been here." (Plays.)

Traveller: "Where does this road go to?"

Squatter: "Hit haint gone anywhere sence I've been here — jist staid right here." (Plays.)

Traveller: "Why don't you put a new roof on your house?"

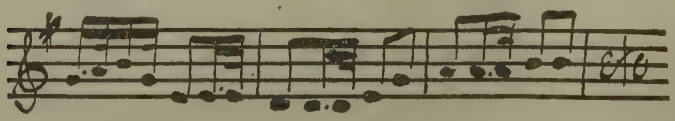
Squatter: "Because it's a rainin' and I can't." (Plays.)

Traveller: "Why don't you do it when it is not raining?"

Squatter: "It don't leak then." (Plays, etc.)

Traveller: "Can I get across the branch down here?"

Squatter: "I reckon you can, the ducks cross there whenever they want to." (Plays.)



Traveller: "Why don't you play the rest of that tune?"

The player stopped quick as lightning.

"Gee, stranger, can *you* play the rest of that tune? I've been down to New Orleans and I heard that at the theater, and I've been at work at it ever since I got back, trying to get the last part of it. If you can play the rest of that tune, you can stay in this cabin for the rest of your natural life. Git right down, hitch your horse and come in! I don't care if it is a rainin'! I don't care if the beds is all full! We'll make a shake-down on the floor and ye can kiver with the door. We haint got much to eat, but what we have, you're mighty welcome to it. Here, Sal, old woman, fly round and git some corn-dodgers and bacon for the gentleman, — he knows how to play the last part of that tune! Don't you, stranger — didn't you say you did? Gol, though, you don't go back on it now! If you say you don't there'll be some of the wildest sawin' around here you ever seed. If you want to save your life, you want to know the rest of that tune, and quick, too! Out with it! Do you know it, or don't you know it? Git down off'n 'at hoss! If you know it, you are a friend and 'brother-come-to-me-arms'; if you don't you've excited the tiger in my bosom, and I'll have nothing short of your heart's blood! Git down, git down!"

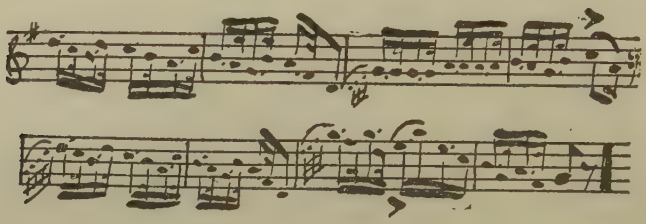
"Well," the stranger said, "yes, I can play it; there's no use of your getting mad. I'll play it for you as soon's I get something to eat."

Squatter: "Fly 'round here, old woman, set the table, bring out the knives and forks."

Here the little boy was to put in his oar and say: "Daddy, you know we haven't got any forks, and there aint knives to go 'round."

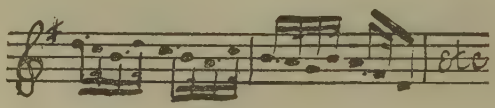
Squatter: "Like to know why there 'aint! There's big butch and little butch, and short handle and corn-cob handle, and no handle at all, and if that 'aint knives enough to set any gentleman's table in this country, I would like to know! Git off'n your hoss, stranger, and come in and have someth'n', and then play the rest of that tune."

The result of it is that the stranger gets off, takes the seat of the squatter and the fiddle, and then starts in playing the last part of the tune,



but he refuses to play the first part.

Then the squatter becomes interested and begins plying questions to the stranger; where he comes from, who he is, where he is going, where he got that tune, what is the name of it, who made it, and everything of that kind; to all of which the stranger replies with as much imperturbability as is possible, and in the same style as he had been replied to when he came; that is, he gave the answers as short as might be, and then ended the discussion by playing the tune, always and only the second part.



I have known this to last for an hour, and I have never seen an audience go away from any entertainment better pleased than were the denizens of the town of Salem, were they guests, travellers or wagoners, when was played, in this simple and country style, the drama of "The Arkansas Traveller."

REPORT OF FIELD WORK.

By W. C. Mills, Curator.

PREFACE.

It is the purpose of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society to visit different sections of the State each year for explorations upon the mounds and village sites.

It is apparent to all that the mounds and earthworks are fast being leveled by the encroachment of agriculture and the relic hunter, who, under the stimulus of commercial enterprise, tears the mounds down and forever blots out evidence which would materially aid in the solution of many of the problems which confront the archæologist of today. Consequently opportunities for securing a more definite insight into the character and methods of mound building are rapidly being destroyed. We commenced the field work in Logan County, but were unfortunate in getting permission to explore but two (2) mounds; these were situated along the Miami River, in Washington Township. Although we added thirty (30) mounds, one (1) earthwork and twenty-seven (27) gravel burials to the archæological map. In the eastern half of the county, especially in the Mad River Valley, are to be found a great many gravel kames. In some places they were formed into beautiful rounded mounds which are very often mistaken for works of the Mound Builders. After leaving Logan County we examined the mounds found along the north fork of the Licking River, which runs near the boundary line of Knox and Licking Counties. The most important of the mounds examined were the large Butcher mound, situated in Burlington Township, Licking County, and the Larimore group in Milford Township, southwestern Knox County. The peculiar features of the mounds of this group were the burials at the center, which were usually beneath the original surface at a depth varying from six inches, to five and one half feet.

I wish to acknowledge the many favors shown us, while in the field. Although in a few instances permission to explore

mounds was refused, such refusal was usually based on valid reasons. In all portions of the country which we visited, we were kindly received, and the people as a rule have a deep interest in the work, and always show a commendable desire to encourage us and give us all the information in their power.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Wanzer, of Zanesville; Mr. Harry Evans and Mr. F. N. Draper, of West Liberty; Mr. M. E. Burdett, of DeGraff; Dr. J. W. Buxton, Mr. W. C Butcher, Mr. Benjamin Quick, of Homer; Mr. Howard Kirkpatrick and Mr. W. P. Parks, of Utica; Messrs. Joseph and James Larimore, and Frank Sutton, of Lock, Knox County, for valuable assistance, suggestions and donations of relics.

To my assistants in the field, Mr. A. G. Abbott, Medina; Mr. S. T. Orton, Columbus, and Mr. V. H. Davis, Byesville, I extend thanks for the faithfulness and earnestness with which they performed their work.

PART I.

MOUND EXPLORATIONS IN LOGAN COUNTY.

On the east side of the Miami River, on the farm of Mrs. Longbreak, two miles north of Logansville, in Washington Township, Logan County, Ohio, is a group of three (3) small mounds ,situated upon a level plateau fifteen feet above the bed of the river and 300 yards from its banks.

Mound No. 1 (See Fig. I.) is the largest of the three mounds and situated near the edge of the hill which slopes gradually to the water's edge. It is 38 feet in diameter and four feet seven and one-half inches high.

The surface of the mound has been under cultivation a number of years, and its height had been evidently reduced several feet. We commenced work on the east side of the mound at the base line and explored the entire mound. The first evidence of a burial was found six feet from the starting point and at the bottom of the mound. The remains were small pieces of the skull and large bones. Toward the center of the mound were found great quantities of charcoal, covering an area of about thirty-six square feet. Nothing was found buried with this charcoal. At

the center of the mound were ashes, burned clay and charcoal, intermingled with these were flint chips.

Seven (7) feet to the west of the center we found the second skeleton, like the first, only small portions of the large bones

FIGURE I. SHOWING POSITION OF MOUNDS IN THE GROUP.

were found and they were so badly decayed that removal was impossible. The mound was made entirely of clay, with here and there small quantities of dark earth, evidently brought from the bed of the river.

MOUND NUMBER TWO

Of this group lies 300 yards north of mound No. 1, and is twenty-five feet in diameter and two and one-half feet high. On the south side of the mound and four feet from the center a skeleton was found buried face down, head to the south and feet extended to the northwest. Near the head were found the remains of a coarse, roughly made earthen vessel. Ten (10) inches directly east of the head of this skeleton was found the head of another skeleton No. 2, also buried face down, feet extended northeast. With this skeleton was also buried a roughly made piece of pot-

tery, only parts of which could be removed, these parts showed a thickness of one-half inch, made of clay and small round quartz pebbles. The vessel was placed between the skeletons, but nearer skeleton No. 2. With this skeleton was also found a few flint flakes used as knives and a small quantity of charcoal. Directly in the center of the mound and placed on a pile of ashes and charcoal, were the remains of a large earthen vessel of the same pattern and material as the other two (2) described, but twice the size. Within this vessel was a quantity of red ochre, a few flint flakes and a small scraper. North of the center of the mound, three and one-half feet, was found skeleton No. 3, lying east and west. The bones of this skeleton were quite large in proportion to the other skeletons found in the mound, but were in a very bad

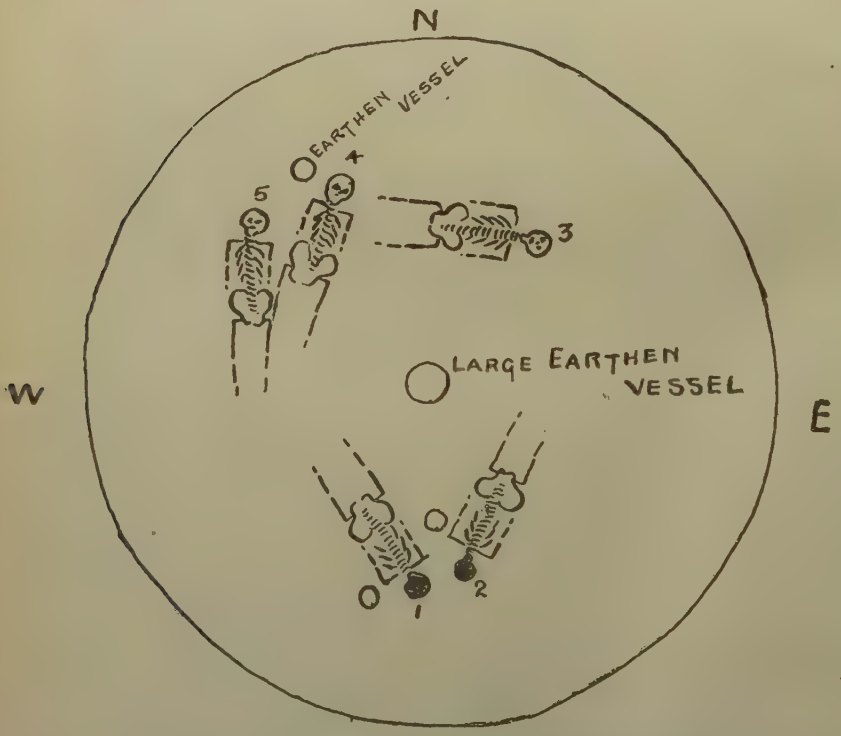


FIGURE II. SHOWING POSITION OF SKELETON IN MOUND NO. 2.

state of decay. With the skeleton was a small quantity of red ochre and several flint flakes used as knives. Near the feet of No. 3, and to the westward a few inches, was found skeleton No. 4, head to the north and feet extended to the southwest. Near the head was found another earthen vessel, similar in size to those found with skeletons Nos. 1 and 2. This vessel contained a small amount of red ochre. With this skeleton was also found a large incisor tooth of a beaver, which had been worn as an ornament; a few flint knives were also found. Fifteen inches west of skeleton No. 4 was found the fifth skeleton, with head to the north and feet to the south. Beneath this skeleton was a small amount of charcoal and ashes, with a few flint chips at the feet. All of the skeletons were those of adults, and were in a bad state of decay, and only a portion of each skeleton was saved. The mound was made entirely of clay with charcoal and ashes at the bottom.

The third mound of this group, situated about 300 yards from mound No. 2, and about the same distance from mound No. 1, was not opened. The field was planted in corn and permission to explore could not be obtained from the tenant. On the farm of Mr. Young, which joins that of Mrs. Longbreak, is a large gravel terrace, from which a number of skeletons were taken while gravel was being hauled for the roads. Mr. Young kindly gave us permission to examine the ground around the pit, and we were fortunate enough to find the remains of three (3) skeletons. No implements or ornaments were placed with them, although Mr. Young discovered a few ornaments buried with skeletons previously found, which would indicate a Shawnee or Seneca burial.

FIELD WORK IN KNOX AND LICKING COUNTIES.

Along the north fork of the Licking River are a number of mounds situated in the valley and upon the low rolling hills located on each side of the river. Among the most important is the Williams Mound, situated in the village of Homer. This mound is sixteen feet high and 100 feet in diameter at the base. Fig. No. 3 shows the mound at the present time.

The large Butcher Mound, which is located "up the river" from Homer two miles, upon the farm of Mr. W. C. Butcher, has

FIGURE III. WILLIAMS MOUND, HOMER, OHIO.

never been disturbed by the plow, being situated in a beautiful grove of sugar maple about 500 yards from the river, upon a level plateau, fifteen feet above the river bed. On the north side of the mound is a large walnut stump, three feet nine inches in diameter. Large sugar trees are growing upon the mound, the largest being 18 inches in diameter. The top of the mound is perfectly flat, forming a platform having an area of more than 1,600 square feet. The mound is thirteen feet high and 135 feet in diameter north and south, and 126 feet in diameter east and west.

A large trench was started ten feet beyond the center to the south and extended north to the edge of the mound. This trench was ten feet wide. When down two feet we came to a layer of burned earth, charcoal and ashes about one-half inch thick. This extended over the entire mound. At the depth of five feet another layer, three-fourths inch thick, of burned earth, charcoal and ashes was found. In this layer large qauntities of flint chips and flakes were also found. A great many of the flakes were evidently used as knives. At a depth of seven feet another layer of ashes and charcoal was found. This layer was very thin, not quite one-fourth of an inch in thickness. Just beneath this thin layer the soil was slightly colored as if from the decay of wood or some other vegetable matter, and varied in thickness from one (1) inch to six (6) inches. At a depth of nine feet a great fire pit was found. This pit was at the center of the mound and was six feet in diameter and fourteen inches deep at the center, and filled with ashes intermingled with which, were flakes of flint, flint knives, calcined human bones and pottery sherds. The ground surrounding the fire pit was of yellow clay, with the appearance of having been puddled and firmly packed. Over this floor was a very heavy layer of ashes with here and there great quantities of charcoal. About ten feet from the edge of the fire pit, we came to the charred remains of upright posts, as was evidenced by the preserved charred post tops, beneath which were upright vacant earth molds, made by the charred posts. (Figure V.)

These post molds were on an average five inches in diameter, equi-distant ten inches, and forming almost a perfect square, twenty-seven feet by twenty-seven and one-fourth feet, thus con-

FIGURE IV. BUTCHER MOUND NEAR HOMER, OHIO.

stituting a pre-eminent feature of this mound. The post molds outside of the trench were traced by tunneling, as was the entire mound. At the northeast corner of the square, formed by the post molds, was placed a granite boulder, which would weigh upwards of 250 pounds. Another at the southeast corner would weigh 500 pounds. Directly in the center of the north side was an opening three and one-half feet wide, evidently a door-way, as the compacted clay extended outside of the enclosure. The upright post molds representing the ends and sides of this enclosure, would average three feet in height on the north side, and two feet and three inches on the south side, and two feet and six inches for the ends. The entire part of the mound enclosed by the post molds, was carefully examined but only here and there a flint chip or a large flint flake, used as a knife, was found. The same general appearance of the soil was noted outside of this enclosure. On each side of the great trench, tunnels were dug into the mound. Some of these tunnels were ten feet long, others twenty, and one forty feet long. No evidence of a burial was met in the mound. But on the north side near the base, there had been evidently an intrusive burial. The skeleton, that of an adult, was buried one foot below the surface and was covered with ninety-six small granite boulders averaging five inches in diameter. The skeleton was badly decayed and only a few pieces of ribs and vertebræ could be saved. The evidence obtained from the exploration of this mound is sufficient to justify the conclusion that the mound was built for burial purposes, and in some religious ceremony the body or bodies were cremated in the large fire pit within the enclosure made by the post molds.

QUICK MOUND.

This mound is located on the farm of Benjamin Quick, about three-fourths of a mile south of the Butcher Mound, and upon one of the low rolling hills on the opposite side of the river. The surface of the mound has been under cultivation for a number of years, and consequently it is several feet lower now than when the surface was first cleared of the original forest growth. The diameter of the mound, when work was commenced upon it, was

FIGURE V. SHOWING POST MOLDS.

forty feet and the height three feet. A large trench eight feet wide was dug through the mound. This trench was enlarged at the center to twelve feet. A quantity of charcoal and ashes was found two (2) feet from the surface, extending over the entire mound. Intermingled with the ashes were a few flint knives and a beautiful arrow head of red and white jasper. Near the bottom of the mound was found a thin streak (one-fourth inch thick) of burned clay and ashes, with here and there small quantities of charcoal. Near the center in a quantity of charcoal was found three arrow heads. One of these was made of black flint, one and one-half inches long, and the other two were made of chalcedony, averaging one and one-fourth inches in length. With the arrow heads was also found a beautiful flint drill, three inches in length, made of light flint having a tinge of red. No trace of a burial could be found.

THE LARIMORE GROUP OF MOUNDS

Is situated two and one-half miles up the north fork of the Licking River from the Butcher Mound, in Milford Township, Knox County, and about one mile east of the postoffice at Lock. This group consists of eleven mounds and one earthwork. Seven mounds and the earthwork are north of the river, and four mounds are south. The river at this point makes a decided bend to the north, striking against the hillsides and forming almost perpendicular banks forty feet in height, and then turning in a southerly direction. On the top of this high bank are situated the seven mounds north of the river. (Figure VI.)

Mound No. 1 is thirty (30) feet in diameter at the base and two feet high and is placed within an enclosure or circular embankment one hundred (100) feet in diameter with a base of eight (8) feet and one foot high. The mound was explored a few years ago by the Larimore Brothers and a skeleton and a few flint arrow heads were found. To the west of this circular embankment is another mound, No. 2, with a circular embankment surrounding the mound. This circular embankment is similar in every respect to that of mound No. 1, except that the area enclosed is larger, being 102 feet in diameter, while the base of this

circular embankment is eight feet wide and its height twenty inches. This circle surrounds a mound forty (40) feet in diameter and three feet seven inches high. To one standing a short distance away and viewing the mound it resembles an upturned wash basin. Commencing at the base on the south side of the mound we thoroughly examined its contents. The mound was composed for the most part of a tough yellow clay mottled here and there with a gray sand. Directly east and west of the center, at the base, a quantity of charcoal and ashes and a few flint chips were found. South of the center four (4) feet, and on the base

FIGURE VI. SHOWING LOCATION OF MOUNDS IN LARIMORE GROUP.

line, was found the skeleton of an adult lying at full length, head northeast, feet southwest. The skeleton was surrounded with charcoal and a small quantity of ashes, with which were found a beautiful arrow head of black flint and two (2) flake knives. North of the center three (3) feet was the second skeleton; that of an adult with head to the west. Only a small quantity of charcoal was buried with this skeleton. At the center and below the base of the mound one and one-half (1½) feet, was found the third skeleton, placed in a grave eighteen (18) inches wide and four (4) feet long. With the skeleton, which lay head to the east and feet to the west, were buried a small quantity of charcoal, three (3) flake knives and one arrow head, made of black

flint. Only small portions of the skeletons could be saved as they were in a bad state of decay. The third mound, which is directly north of mound No. 2, two hundred and fifty (250) feet, is on a little higher level than mounds Nos. 1 and 2. There is a gradual rise of about ten (10) feet from the edge of the bluff back five hundred (500) feet to the top of the hill. Mound No. 3 was composed of a yellow clay, mixed more or less with small boulders. Mr. James Larimore, on whose land mounds Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are located, informed me that the mound, when cleared of trees that were growing upon it, was not less than five feet high, but it has been under cultivation for a number of years and the height is now three feet with a diameter of forty (40) feet. Nothing was found in the mound above the base line, only at the center, where a small quantity of burned clay and charcoal was found. Below the base line one and one-half (1½) feet, and directly under the burned earth and charcoal, was exhumed the skeleton of an adult, head to the east and feet placed as if bent back under the body, at the time of burial. The size of the grave was twenty (20) inches wide and four (4) feet long. The right arm was placed across the breast and near the left hand was found a medium sized Celt, nicely polished and made of green dioryte. Near the Celt and toward the feet was found a grooved axe, finely polished, made of granite, the bit being slightly broken. On the right side was found a fine, well-wrought spear-head three and one-half (3½) inches long, made of a yellow, variegated jasper; two small barbed arrow heads of black flint, and one of mottled light and red flint; also six (6) flake knives averaging two (2) inches in length. The skeleton was almost entirely decayed, and no part of it could be saved.

Mound No. 4 is situated about five hundred (500) feet from the edge of the bluff, on the summit of the hill, upon the land of Mr. Joe Larimore. This mound in appearance is much like mounds Nos. 1 and 2, with a circular embankment ninety-eight (98) feet in diameter enclosing the mound. This embankment is one foot high with a base of eight feet. The diameter of the mound at the base is thirty-five feet, and height three feet. On the south side of the mound and three feet from the center, on the base line, was found the skeleton of an adult

imbedded in a quantity of charcoal. Near the left hand was a perfect arrow head of black flint and two flake knives. On the right side and near the head were found the remains of a large earthen vessel, roughly made; no decoration inside or out. The thickness of the sides and bottom would average one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) inch. Within the vessel was a small quantity of fine chocolate colored earth, created, no doubht, by the decay of vegetable matter. At the center and one foot below the base line, in a grave nineteen (19) inches wide and four (4) feet long, was found another skeleton surrounded with a small amount of charcoal, ashes and burnt clay. A few flint chips were intermingled with the charcoal.

Mounds Nos. 5, 6 and 7 are situated five hundred (500) feet east of mound No. 1, on the point of the bluff overlooking the river. Mound No. 5 was one and one-half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) feet high and fifteen feet in diameter, and was composed entirely of clay. In the center and one foot below the base line, was found a skeleton so badly decayed that no part of it could be saved. With the skeleton was found a perfect arrow head two (2) inches in length and made of black flint. Mound No. 6, situated fifteen (15) feet east of mound No. 5, was also composed of clay, and was the smallest mound of the group, being fourteen (14) feet in diameter and twelve (12) inches high. At the center and on the base line a few charred bones and a large quantity of charcoal was found. Mound No. 7, the last of the mounds of this group, north of the river, is situated on the very edge of the bluff, and was sixteen (16) feet in diameter and fifteen (15) inches high. A skeleton was found six inches below the base line. With it was exhumed a quantity of charcoal and ashes. Nothing was placed with the skeleton, which was badly decayed, and no part of it was saved.

Mound No. 8 is situated on the bottom land south of the river upon the farm of Mr. Frank Sutton. This mound was nearly leveled by the plow and all traces of the mound would have been obliterated in a few years. Mr. Joe Larimore, who has lived on the adjoining farm all his life, located it very easily, although the ground was covered with a heavy growth of clover. The mound originally was about five (5) feet high, but now it is

only thirteen (13) inches in height, and the diameter forty (40) feet. The base of the mound was covered with a light layer of burned clay, with here and there small quantities of charcoal. Near the center was found the skeleton of a child about ten years old. The skeleton was fairly well preserved and was removed in good condition. At a depth of five and one-half ($5\frac{1}{2}$) feet below the base line and in a grave four (4) feet long, by two and one-half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) feet wide, were found five headless skeletons promiscuously thrown together in the grave. With the skeletons were found three hundred (300) beads made of the shell of nerita rumphia; also thirty (30) large pieces of perforated and decorated mussel shell. (Figure VII.)

These mussel shells varied in width from one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) to one and one-half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) inches, and in length from two and one-half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) to five (5) inches. In the grave were found ten canine teeth of the fox, perforated at one end for attachment, and one canine tooth of a bear, also perforated; also fifty pieces of turtle shell, each perforated with two (2) holes. With the skeletons were found fifteen (15) vertebræ of the deer, one of these has firmly imbedded in the bone the point of an arrow head. Five spear heads and eleven arrow heads were found with the skeletons. One of the bones of the skeleton, that of an innominatum, had been pierced by an arrow head, the point of which was firmly imbedded in the bone. (Figure VIII.)

The five (5) skeletons taken from this grave were those of adults, and the bones were perfectly preserved even to the small bones of the hands and feet. This is readily explained as the grave extended into the gravel and sand, which bed formed a perfect drainage, while in the other mounds of this group the burials were in clay soil, and only very small portions of the skeletons could be saved. The conclusions reached by the investigation of this mound are, that these skeletons represent braves slain by their enemies (perhaps in battle) and that their heads were carried away as trophies, and their bodies afterwards gathered together by their friends and buried in this one grave.

Mound No. 9 is situated four hundred (400) feet south of mound No. 8 upon a terrace about five (5) feet high. This mound was originally about thirty-eight (38) feet in diameter and four

FIGURE VII. SHOWING PERFORATED AND DECORATED MUSSEL SHELL.

feet high, but after more than forty (40) years of cultivation it has been reduced to one (1) foot in height. What was left of the mound was fully explored. On the base line were found parts of two skeletons. One was on the north side of the center and was surrounded by great quantities of charcoal. The skeleton had also been burned and only portions of the femur and skull bones could be saved, and they were badly charred. The other skeleton was southeast of the center three (3) feet. This skeleton had also been burned. With it were found twenty (20) arrow heads and spear heads, which had been nearly destroyed by fire. The mound was made of yellow clay.

Mound No. 10 is situated three hundred (300) yards south of mound No. 9, upon the low rolling hills which skirt the bottom land south of the river. This mound resembled mound No. 1, in having a circular embankment surrounding it. Here the plow had almost obliterated all traces of the circle, and only enough remained to permit measurements of it to be taken. The diameter of the circle is one hundred and fifteen (115) feet, which is larger than any so far recorded in this group. The height of the circle is three-fourths ($\frac{3}{4}$) of a foot. The mound was approximately forty-five feet in diameter and nine (9) inches high, and composed entirely of yellow clay. The base line was shown plainly as it was covered with ashes and charcoal. Six (6) inches below the base line was found the skeleton of an adult placed in a grave which was four (4) feet long and twenty (20) inches wide. No charcoal or ashes surrounded the skeleton but the six (6) inches of soil covering the skeleton contained particles of charcoal mingled through it. With this skeleton was found a fine arrow head of black flint.

Mound No. 11, situated on the bottom land of the river, two hundred (200) feet east of mound No. 8, on the farm of Mr. Joe Larimore, is the last and largest of the Larimore group. Mr. Joe Larimore informed me that when his father first moved to this farm the mound was six (6) feet high and fifty (50) feet in diameter, and was surrounded by a circular embankment two (2) feet high and one hundred and seventy (170) feet in diameter. Now the embankment can scarcely be traced while the mound is not more than six (6) inches high. We did not examine it for Mr.

FIGURE VIII. SHOWING POINT OF ARROW HEAD FIRMLY IMBEDDED IN THE BONE, TAKEN FROM MOUND NO. 8, LARIMORE GROUP.

Larimore assured me that forty-five (45) years ago when the land was cleared the mound also was leveled down and everything removed from it. The mound contained three skeletons, of which two (2) were adults. Buried with them were ornaments of shell and stone, also arrow and spear heads. The third skeleton was that of a child encased in an elongated earthen vessel which was accidently broken after it had been removed.

Directly west of mound No. 8, and across the river is a large circular earthwork occupying about three acres of the fine bottom land which is valuable for agricultural purposes. Like the mounds it has been leveled by the plow and no measurements could be accurately made. But those who saw it a half century ago, say it was not less than five (5) feet high with a base of twelve (12) feet. In some places all traces of it are gone, but the passage way to the east facing the river is perfectly discernible.

KIRKPATRICK MOUND.

The Kirkpatrick Mound is situated upon a hill two hundred (200) feet high, overlooking the valley of the Licking River, on the farm of Mr. Howard Kirkpatrick, one mile north of Utica on the line of Knox County. The mound was sixty feet in diameter and three and one-half ($3\frac{1}{2}$) feet high, having large oak trees growing upon its surface making it impossible to examine it on the northwest side. The remainder of the mound was thoroughly explored and five skeletons found, promiscuously buried as to the cardinal points. The mound was made of yellow clay and covered with several layers of thin slabs of stone. On the south side a skeleton was found, head to the northeast and feet extended to the southwest. Nothing was found with this skeleton except a small amount of charcoal. At the center was found a grave four and one-half ($4\frac{1}{2}$) feet long by eighteen (18) inches wide, made of small slabs of stone with a covering of large wide slabs. In this grave was the skeleton of an adult. Buried with this skeleton were the remains of an earthen vessel, which had been broken by the falling of one of the top slabs. The skull was also crushed in the same way, as the slab was lying directly over the skull and the jar. A number

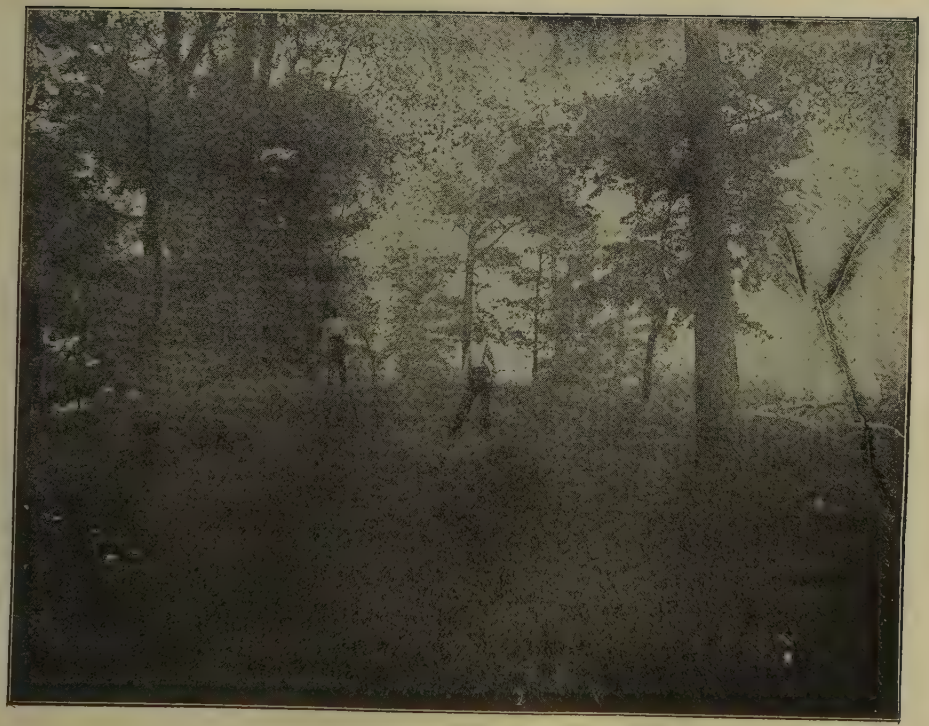


FIGURE IX. KIRKPATRICK MOUND, UTICA, OHIO.

of ornaments made of mussel shell and resembling those found in mound No. 8, of the Larimore Group (Fig. 7), and two finely wrought arrow heads of yellow jasper were found. Another skeleton was unearthed three feet north of the center. With the latter skeleton was found a small amount of charcoal. East of the center three and one-half feet was found the fourth skeleton. Nothing was found with this skeleton. Southeast, four feet, was found the fifth skeleton. With this were discovered a few flint flakes used as knives, a small black flint arrow head and a very small quantity of charcoal. The skeletons were all in an advanced stage of decay and only small portions of each could be saved.

PART II.

REPORT OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MUSEUM FOR YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1899.

Before entering upon a detailed statement of the condition of the Museum for the period covered by this report, it would perhaps be well to recall briefly the outline of its history and origin.

In 1875 about fifty persons, interested in archæology, met at the home of General R. Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, and formed a society known as the "Ohio Archæological Association," and the following year this Association was called upon to take part in the Centennial Exposition held in Philadelphia. Professor M. C. Read, of Hudson; Colonel Chas. Whitelsey, of Cleveland, and Judge Sloane, of Ottawa, were appointed a special committee, to collect relics of the races prior to our own, and forward them to Philadelphia. It was also their duty to arrange them for exhibition, and at the close of the Exposition to return them to the Society, or to their owners.

Although the committee had only about two months to collect together the relics and forward them to Philadelphia, they made a very creditable display, ranking next to that of the Smithsonian in interest and value. At the close of the Exposition a great many relics were donated to the Ohio Society. Quarters were secured for the Society's collection in the State House, and Mr. J. H. Klippart was elected custodian. The collection

was increased by donations from citizens from various parts of the State. But the Society became inactive and all interest in augmenting the collection was lost. In February, 1885, Mr. A. A. Graham, of Columbus, after consultation with many friends of the old society, called a preliminary conference, which was held in Columbus, to take steps towards the organization of a State Archæological and Historical Society. As a result of this conference, a committee was appointed to draft and issue a call for a State Convention to be held in the State Capitol, in the City of Columbus, March 12, 1885. At this meeting articles of incorporation and by-laws were adopted, and Hon. Allen G. Thurman was elected President.

Article No. 3 bears directly upon the Museum of the reorganized society, which is as follows:

"Article No. 3—Said Society is formed for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of Archæology and History, especially in Ohio, by establishing and maintaining a library of books, manuscripts, maps, charts, etc., properly pertaining thereto; a museum of pre-historic relics and natural or other curiosities or specimens of art or nature promotive of the objects of the Association. Said library and museum to be open to the public on reasonable terms—and by courses of lectures and publication of books, papers and documents touching the subjects so specified, with power to receive and hold gifts and devices of real and personal estate for the benefit of such society, and generally to exercise all the powers legally and properly pertaining thereto."

The first public meeting of the Society was held in the Senate chamber on the evening of the same day that the Society was formed, and was addressed by General R. Brinkerhoff. In his address he stated that one of the objects of the old Archæological Society was the "preservation of the relics of Ohio. We have permitted the earthworks, mounds and graves to be despoiled by the whole world. The ornaments, utensils and implements are of such value that Ohio is the spoil of all nations and many of the best relics have already been carried away. There are better collections of ancient relics of Ohio in London and Paris than in the State." This speech of General Brinkerhoff aroused much interest in the preservation of Ohio

more. Specimens to be of the highest service to the second class of visitors must be arranged in series showing the various phases of some one subject or the modification of various types found in the different sections of the State.

Third, the sight-seeing visitors who make quite different demands. They visit the Museum from an intelligent curiosity to see the master pieces of art wrought in stone, shell and bone, which illustrate in the most striking manner the history and progress of a civilization which at one time inhabited our State. They also demand that the collection shall be provided with labels and arranged in a very attractive manner.

At the beginning of the year 1899, the total number of specimens catalogued belonging to the Society were 18,678. During the year 3,560 specimens have been numbered and entered upon the catalogue. The Skinner collection, which was placed in the Museum on loan, and consisted of 389 specimens, was withdrawn from the Museum, having been sold by the owner, Miss Maggie Skinner, of Kalida, Ohio, to the Field Columbian Museum, of Chicago, Ill., which leaves the total number of recorded specimens in the Museum at 21,849. (May 31, 1899.)

I am very much gratified at the increased interest in archæological and historical matters throughout the State.

During the year 312 letters and 18 packages containing specimens for identification have been received. All letters have been answered and a press copy made.

REVIEW OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ACCESSIONS.

The following are the most important additions to the collection during the year:

Frank N. Beebe, Columbus, Ohio, presented camas root digger from Priest's Rapids, Columbia River.

Mr. T. S. Cleveland, Calais, Monroe County, Ohio, a large spinning wheel made in 1844.

Mr. C. G. Knight presented two sections showing the ends of the early strap rail laid on the old Mad River and Lake Erie R. R., now Sandusky Division of the C., C., C. & S. L. R. R. This rail was laid about the year 1838.

Spear Heads. Huron County. Mills Collection.

From Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester, Ohio, was obtained one of the most interesting and valuable collections of copper implements and ornaments ever found in Ohio. This collection consists of fifty-four copper pieces representing button shaped ornaments, celts, large plates and bracelets. All had been hammered together evidently to destroy their identity. Some of the plates if straightened out would measure eight and one-half inches long and four inches wide. With the copper pieces were found five broken pieces of slate ornaments and thirty-four pieces of galenite, and over all were placed quantities of mica in sheets, and all were found one foot below the surface and placed within the space of eighteen inches by twenty-four inches. The find was made in May, 1898, by Mr. Warren Cowen, custodian of Fort Ancient, and Mr. Perry Wolfe, on the farm of the latter, which joins the property of the State known as Fort Ancient. May 6, 1899, the Curator, in company with Mr. Warren Cowen, who kindly located the place where the specimens were found, visited the site. The surroundings and the soil which had been thrown out were carefully examined, resulting in finding four more copper pieces, two broken pieces of gorgets, three pieces of galenite and about five hundred sheets of mica.

Mr. Chas. McDarrh, of Urbana, Ohio, presented two old letters patent issued from the General Land Office, one signed by President James Madison and the other by President James Monroe.

From Mr. F. N. Draper, West Liberty, Ohio, was received five specimens of hammer stones and pestles.

Mr. A. B. Coover, Roxabell, Ohio, donated his valuable collection of stone and bone implements from the Baum Village site. In this collection will be found chipped flint objects—such as arrow and spear points—polished hatchets, grooved axes, pestles, a number of ceremonial objects, carved stone pipes, carved stone described in Vol. VII, page 149, also bone and shell beads and scrapers, bone awls and needles, perforated teeth, and a human skeleton in a fine state of preservation.

The collection is of great value because of the fact that it is the result of Mr. Coover's personal search and all come from

the Baum Village site and vicinity, and each specimen is accompanied with full and complete data.

Mr. B. B. Herrick, of Wellington, Ohio, gave a copy of Dr. Watt's Lyric Poems, printed in 1798.

From Mr. James Parke Harris was received a piece of a Spanish battle flag, captured at the battle of El Caney, Cuba.

Mr. Frank Larimore presented grooved axes, celts, arrow and spear points found near the mounds upon his farm.

Mr. W. P. Parks, of Utica, Ohio, gave a very fine roller pestle 16¾ inches long and a finely finished spear head 5¼ inches long.

Mr. M. E. Burdett, De Graff, Ohio, presented a finely made grooved hammer.

Mr. Perry Wolfe, Fort Ancient, Ohio, presented a worked piece of cannel coal, found inside the walls of Fort Ancient.

Mr. M. A. Honline, Columbus, Ohio, donated a small collection, taken from a mound in New Market Township, Highland County, consisting of arrow and spear heads, stone tablets, pipe, worked jaw bone of an animal, pieces of mica, gorgets and human bones.

Mr. William Stoneman, Fort Ancient, Ohio, presented a large worked piece of galenite found inside the walls of Fort Ancient.

From Mr. H. E. Thrailkill, Columbus, Ohio, was received an addition to his large collection, already in the Museum, consisting of grooved axes, celts, ceremonials, arrow and spear heads; all from Franklin County, Ohio.

From Mr. Nat S. Green, Camp Dennison, Ohio, was received a small collection of stone relics and a few historical specimens of great interest.

Mr. C. G. Knight, Columbus, Ohio, deposited in the Museum a collection of grooved axes, celts, pestles, ornaments, arrow and spearheads.

The Rev. Henry J. Van Vleck, Senior Bishop of the Moravian Church in America, Gnadenhutten, Ohio, presented three relics from the early Moravian Missions at Gnadenhutten. One is a section of a floor-board of the first church at Gnadenhutten, dedicated in 1803. Another is a piece of the column which originally supported the ceiling of the second church dedicated in

Archæological Museum

1819, and the third is a section of an appletree planted by the Missionary Zeisberger in 1772, blown down in a wind storm, July 16, 1889.

Mr. Robert H. Foerderer, Philadelphia, Pa., leather manufacturer, presented two specimens of skins. One showing the skin before it is put into the process of manufacture, and the other a skin in the finished state, ready to be cut into shoes.

Mr. W. G. Junod presented through Professor Hunt, of the University, a human skull found near Georgesville, Franklin County, Ohio.

Mr. J. W. Tweed, of Ripley, Ohio, deposited a large collection numbering 2,319 specimens, all collected within a radius of ten miles of Ripley, Brown County. In this collection can be found specimens of almost every type found in that section of southern Ohio, consisting of very rare specimens of bone and shell ornaments and implements, taken from the graves found in the village site at the mouth of Eagle Creek, arrow and spear point, knives, scrapers, perforators, hammer stones, pitted stones, polished hatchets, chisles, grooved axes, pestles, pierced gorgets, ceremonial objects, pipes, fine discoidals, hematite objects, fragments of pottery and one perfect piece of pottery. This collection is the result of years of work in the field, on the part of Mr. Tweed, and the collection is labeled with accuracy as to the locality and other facts which might be of interest to the student.

Mr. Warren Cowen, custodian of Fort Ancient, presented specimens found within the fort walls, consisting of a piece of pottery, arrow and spear points and hammer stones.

THE STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP.

The additions to the map during the year have been gradually increasing. The Curator, while in the field, carefully marked upon the map all the earth works, village sites and burials found in the territory covered by the survey. Mr. Lewis S. Hopkins of Troy, O., located a number of mounds in Highland Co. Mr. T. J. Brown of Waynesville, O., located 21 mounds, 2 Gravel burials and 1 village site in northern Warren Co. and southern Green Co. Mr. A. B. Coover, of Roxabell, Ross Co., made a tracing of Con-

cord Township, Ross Co., and personally visited every farm in the Township and recorded upon the map all earth-works, burials and village sites. He also marked the farms upon which valuable finds have been made.

Mr. Coover has kindly donated his map together with his report, which is given in full.

Tracing is made from an Atlas of Ross County, printed in 1875 by H. T. Gould & Co.

Mounds, graves, and camp sites were visited, personally, and located as nearly as possible in their proper position on each farm. The surface finds were reported by the owners.

No. 1.—A gravel pit on the farm of C. F. Defeu from which several skeletons have been taken.

No. 2.—A gravel pit on the farm of Peter Porter, in which several skeletons have been found.

No. 3.—A small mound on the farm of A. P. Craig. Size

4x40 ft. Opened by A. B. Coover, containing an intrusive burial at the top. Charcoal and ashes at the bottom.

No. 4.—A small mound 3x30 ft. on the farm of R. D. Robertson. It is in a ravine and built of stone covered with soil.

No. 5.—Grave on the farm of Alex Pearis. Skeleton found while digging cistern.

No. 6.—A camp site on the farm of R. D. Robertson. Specimens of stone, flint and slate have frequently been ploughed up, also fragments of pottery.

No. 7.—A gravel pit on the farm of A. R. Darby, in which skeletons have been found.

No. 8.—A small mound 2x40 ft. on the farm of Mrs. Jones.

No. 9.—A small camp site on the farm of H. H. Pratt

No. 10.—A small mound on the farm of Ashford Roseboom, located in the woods at the foot of a hill.

No. 11.—A gravel pit on the farm of Amos Fisher, in which skeletons have been found.

No. 12.—A small mound on the farm of George Fisher, opened several years ago by S. A. Hanna of Greenfield, O., contained nothing of interest.

No. 13.—A gravel pit on the farm of Abner Thomas, in which one skeleton was found.

No. 14.—A small mound 3x40 ft. on the farm of Miss Dorcas Dunlap, opened several years ago by W. K. Moorehead.

No. 15.—A small mound 4x40 ft. on the farm of Miss Susie Pancake. Has been partially explored.

No. 16.—A fine mound 12x70 ft. on the farm of Miss Dorcas Dunlap. From its location and surroundings would judge it to be one of the best mounds in the Township.

No. 17.—A small mound 3x20 ft. on the farm of Miss Dorcas Dunlap. Opened several years ago by W. K. Moorehead, but contained nothing of interest.

No. 18.—A gravel pit on the farm of Dr. A. M. Galbraith, in which skeletons have been found.

No. 19.—A village site on the farm of Dr. A. M. Galbraith, and is a continuation of the gravel ridge, No. 18. Stone bowls, pottery, copper, etc., have been ploughed up.

No. 20.—A small, low mound 3x30 ft. on the farm of W. Pancake.

No. 21.—A small mound 2x20 ft. on the farm of Wm. Pancake, close by No. 20.

No. 22.—Gravel knoll on the farm of Roseboom & Phillips. There have been 18 skeletons taken from this knoll in a space of 30x50 ft., and others were in sight when work was discontinued.

No. 23.—Small mound 4x30 ft. on the farm of Roseboom & Phillips, close to No. 22. Opened by W. K. Moorehead.

No. 24.—A small mound 3x30 ft on the farm of John Hyer.

No. 25.—A camp site on the farm of Roseboom & Phillips. Pottery fragments, bone, beads, stone and flint implements are frequently found here.

No. 26.—A small mound on the farm of Roseboom & Phillips. Was opened by some boys several years ago.

No. 27.—A small mound on the Ed. Hopkins' farm. It is in the woods on the top of a large hill.

No. 28.—A small mound 4x30 ft. on the farm of Mrs. Bush.

No. 29.—Graves on the farm of Mrs. Bush. Discovered in digging a cellar

No. 30.—A mound 9x50 ft. on the farm of Jesse Mallow. A small hole 4x8 ft. has been dug near the center.

No. 31.—A mound 10x80 ft. on the farm of George Hanawalt, partially explored by W. K. Moorehead.

No. 32.—A small mound 4x45 ft. on the farm of George Hanawalt, close by No. 31. Small hole dug in the center by W. K. Moorehead.

No. 33.—A small mound 6x40 ft. on the farm of Albert Coyner. Has been partially explored.

No. 34.—A gravel pit on the farm of John Coyner, in which skeletons are frequently found.

No. 35.—A small mound 3x40 ft. on the farm of John Coyner. Has been opened.

No. 36.—Graves on the farm of Adam Harper. At this point the writer dug up a skeleton which had been placed in a sitting position. Buried with it were a small grooved ax and a number of human bones covered with paint.

North End Archaeological Museum.

No. 37.—Gravel burial on the farm of Gaddis Alemang, adjoining No. 36.

No. 38.—A gravel pit on the farm of Cyrus Hegler, in which skeletons have been found in a sitting position.

No. 39.—A second gravel pit on the farm of Cyrus Hegler, in which remains have been found.

No. 40.—A large mound on the farm of W. Gilmore. Located on the highest point in the Township.

No. 41.—A mound on the farm of Cyrus Hegler. Has never been opened.

No. 42.—A third gravel pit on the farm of Cyrus Hegler, in which skeletons have been found and always in a sitting position.

No. 43.—A mound on the farm of Cyrus Hegler. Has never been opened.

No. 44.—A mound on the farm of Cyrus Hegler, 4x40 ft. Has never been opened.

No. 45.—A mound $3\frac{1}{2}$x45 ft. on the farm of Cyrus Hegler. Never opened.

No. 46. —A gravel pit on the farm of Wm. Mallow, in which remains were found.

No. 47.—A circle enclosing about one-fourth of an acre. Is now barely discernable because of cultivation. Rev. Wm. Mallow whose property adjoins, says he remembers when the walls of the circle stood 3 or 4 ft. high with a ditch on the inside.

No. 48.—A mound 4x20 ft. on the farm of J. N. Blue. Has never been opened.

No. 49.—A mound 4x40 ft. on the farm of J. N. Blue. Has never been opened.

No. 50.—A small mound 2x30 ft. on the farm of Allen Hegler. Is located on a bluff near the creek, and has never been opened.

No. 51.—A small mound on the farm of George Santee. Is about 5x40 ft., has a flat top, and has never been opened.

No. 52.—A gravel pit on the farm of Russel Peterson, in which skeletons have been found, always in a sitting position.

No. 53.—A small mound 3x30 ft. on the farm of M. L. Peterson. Has been opened, and contained an ax.

No. 54.—A mound on the farm of M. L. Peterson. Is about 5x30 ft. and has never been opened.

No. 55.—A small mound on the farm of Chas. Junk. Is about one foot high at present.

No. 56.—A small mound about 5x35 ft. on the farm of Chas. Junk. Has been partially explored.

No. 57.—A mound about 6x40 ft. located on the same farm, and about 100 yards east of No. 56. A large oak tree 11 ft. in circumference stands on the summit of this mound. Partly opened.

No. 58.—A large mound on the farm of Chas. Sturgeon. Opened by W. K. Moorehead several years ago, contained copper ornaments.

No. 59.—A small mound on the farm of John Sanford. Opened by W. K. Moorehead.

No. 60.—A small mound on the farm of John Sanford. Opened by W. K. Moorehead.

No. 61.—Mound about 4x60 ft. on the farm of Alfred Putnam. Never opened.

No. 62.—A small mound on the farm of Mack Porter. It has been plowed down until now it is barely discernable.

No. 63. A mound 5x60 ft. on the farm of Mack Porter. Never opened.

No. 64.—A small mound on the farm of Ralph Ware.

No. 65.—A small mound on the farm of Ralph Ware, near 64. W. K. Moorehead made some interesting discoveries here several years ago.

No. 66.—A small mound on the farm of Lewis Wiley. Opened by W. K. Moorehead.

No. 67.—A large mound on the farm of Lewis Wiley, 15x 110 ft.

No. 68.—A circle 1250 ft in diameter on the farms of Ralph Ware and Mack Porter.

No. 69.—A square enclosure 1032x1032 ft. and is joined to the circle no. 68. It extends from the Porter farm into the town of Frankfort for a square and a half.

No. 70. A small mound on the farm of Mrs. Jones. Has been opened, and contained several skeletons and a small celt.

Spear Head. Coshocton County. **Mills Collection.**

No. 71.—A mound 8x60 ft. on the farm of J. and G. Devine.

No. 72.—A small mound about 4x25 ft. on the farm of D. C Anderson.

No. 73.—A mound 8x60 ft. on the farm of Jacob Miller. Has been opened.

No. 74.—A mound 2x30 ft. on the farm of Jacob Miller.

No. 75.—A mound 3x40 ft. on the farm of Jacob Miller. Opened by Capt. McGinnis and A. B. Coover. No specimens.

No. 76.—Village site on the farm of Thomas Fulton. Never explored.

No. 77.—A mound 3x30 ft. on the farm of Mrs. Ida Donaldson. Never opened.

No. 78.—A mound 4x25 ft. on the farmof Phillip Putman. Never opened.

No. 79.—A mound 3x38 ft. about 600 yards east of mound No. 3.

No. 80.—A mound 3x32 ft. about 100 yards northeast of mound No. 79.

Surface finds are reported on every farm in the Township.

Chas. Cory has a small collection consisting of axes, pestles, celts, arrow points and a fine coffin shaped ceremonial ornament.

Samuel Maddox has a small collection consisting of axes and arrow points.

Thos. Bay has a small collection of axes, celts, cones and arrow points.

George Hanawalt has a small collection, the best speci men being a fine slate ornament.

Mrs. J. M. Slagle has a small, but interesting collection of axes, arrow points, etc.

W. D. Mallow has a fine collection of mortars, pestles, axes, slate ornaments, etc.

A. B. Cline has a good collection of unfinished slate ornaments.

The McGinnis collection at Frankfort contains some 2000 specimens, many of which are rare.

L. M Bean has a collection of about 800 pieces, including a large number of bone implements.

A. B. Coover has a collection of about 1800 specimens, of which nearly three hundred were presented to the Society.

Dr. A. M. Galbraith has a small, but interesting collection.

SUMMARY OF ADDITIONS TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP DURING THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1899, ACCORDING TO TOWNSHIPS.

ROSS COUNTY.

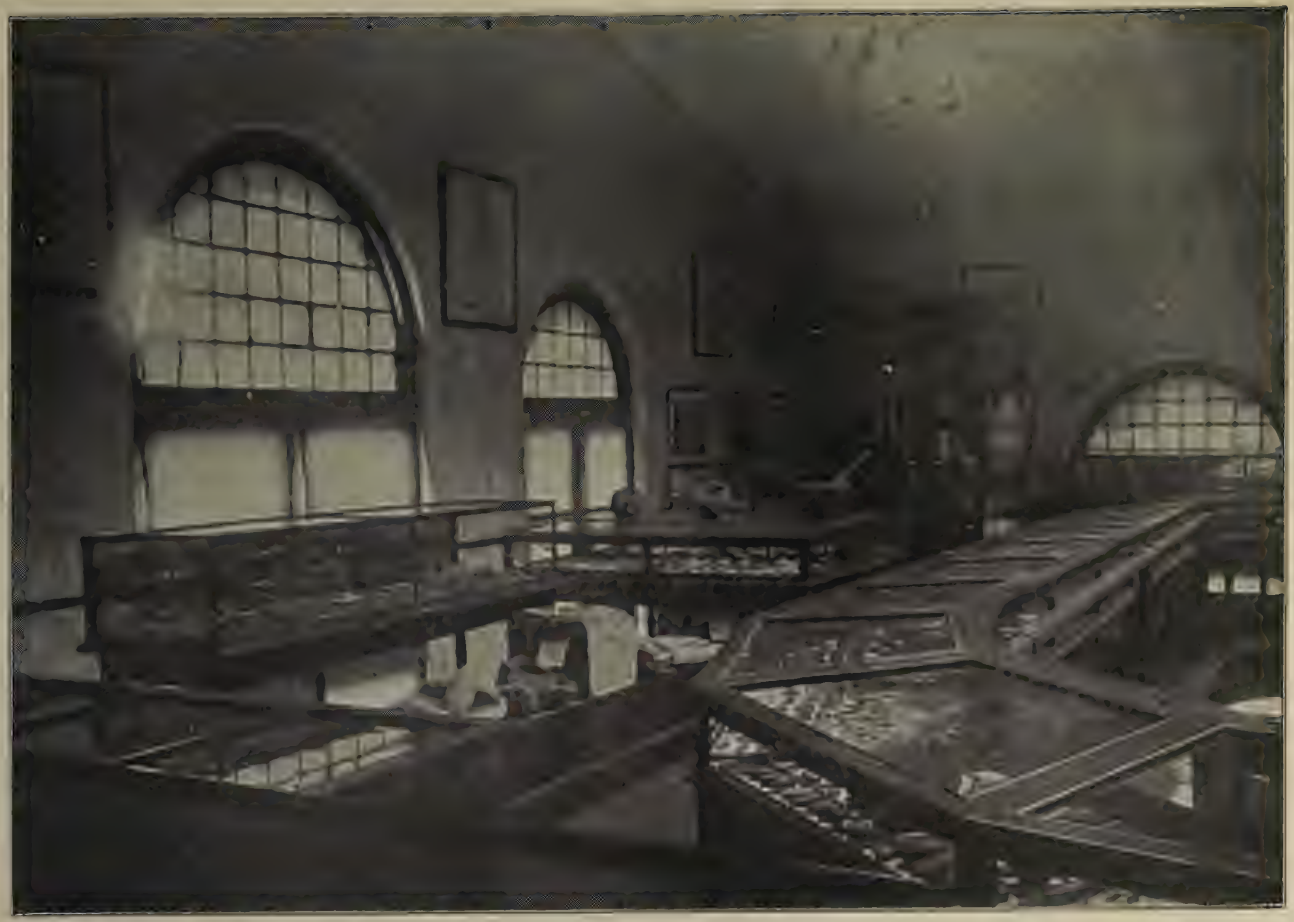
Township.	Earth Mounds.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Concord	53—2′	5	....	2	17

LICKING COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mounds.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burials.	Circle.
Bennington	1	1	..	..
Burlington	4—1′	..	1	1

KNOX COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mounds.	Circle.	Enclosure.
Morgan	1	..	..
Miller	..	1	..
Millford	7	1	..
Hilliar	1	..	..
Clinton	1	1	..
Morris	1′	..	1



South End Archæological Museum.

WARREN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mounds.	Village Site.	Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Wayne	11	..	..	2
Massie	2	1	1	..

SCIOTO COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mounds.	Circle.	Mound Group.
Harrison	6	..	..
Porter	1	1	1

GREEN COUNTY.

Township.	Earth Mounds.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Sugar Creek	6—2'	1

HIGHLAND COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mounds.	Circle.
Fairfield	2	..
Clay	1	..
White Oak	1	..
Jackson	1	..
Marshall	..	2
Salem	4	..
Dodson	3	..
Union	1	..
New Market	2	..

LOGAN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Crescent.
Miami	4	..	6	..
Pleasant	..	..	4	..
Bloomfield	2	1	..	..
Washington	13	..	..	..
Stokes	2	..	..	..
Richland	5	..	..	..
McArthur	..	..	1	..
Harrison	..	..	1	1
Lake	..	..	2	..
Union	..	..	1	..
Liberty	..	..	4	..
Monroe	1—1'	1	3	..
Jefferson	2	..	1	..
Brush Creek	..	..	3	..
Perry	..	..	1	..

CHIPPED SPECIMENS OF FLINT. BROWN CO. TWEED COLLECTION.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR

FEBRUARY 1, 1899 TO FEBRUARY 1, 1900.

GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF, PRESIDENT.
E. O. RANDALL, SECRETARY.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, JANUARY, 1900.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

FROM FEBRUARY 1, 1899, TO FEBRUARY 1, 1900.

ELECTED BY THE TRUSTEES.

GEN. ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF,	*President*
*REV. WM. E. MOORE, D. D., LL. D.,	*Vice-President*
HON. S. S. RICKLY,	*Treasurer*
EDWIN F. WOOD,	*Assistant Treasurer*
E. O. RANDALL, PH. B., LL. M.,	*Secretary*
W. C. MILLS, B. Sc., (H. and F.),	*Curator and Librarian*

TRUSTEES.

ELECTED BY THE SOCIETY.

Term Expires in 1900.

HON. ELROY M. AVERY,	Cleveland
BISHOP B. W. ARNETT,	Wilberforce
HON. S. S. RICKLY,	Columbus
MR. G. F. BAREIS,	Canal Winchester
HON. A. R. MCINTIRE,	Mt. Vernon

Term Expires in 1901.

GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF,	Mansfield
HON. M. D. FOLLETT,	Marietta
HON. D. J. RYAN,	Columbus
REV. H. A. THOMPSON,	Dayton
MR. R. E. HILLS,	Delaware

Term Expires in 1902.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,	Mansfield
PROF. G. F. WRIGHT,	Oberlin
*REV. WM. E. MOORE,	Columbus
†ROBERT CLARKE,	Cincinnati
JUDGE JAMES H. ANDERSON,	Columbus

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Terms Expire as Indicated.

HON. CHAS. P. GRIFFIN, Toledo, 1900; HON. A. ROBESON, Greenville, 1900; GEN. GEO. B. WRIGHT, Columbus, 1901; HON. ISRAEL WILLIAMS, Hamilton, 1901; PROF. B. F. PRINCE, 1902; HON. E. O. RANDALL, 1902.

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*Died June 5, 1899. Gen. G. B. Wright was elected Vice-President to succeed Dr. Moore. No one was chosen to fill the vacancy in the Trusteeship caused by his death.

†Died August 26, 1899. No one was elected as his successor on the Board of Trustees.

To His Excellency, Asa S. Bushnell, *Governor of Ohio:*

I herewith have the honor to submit the fifteenth annual report of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, covering the year February 1, 1899, to February 1, 1900.

With very great respect I remain

Yours truly,

E. O. Randall, *Secretary.*

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

The annual meetings of the Society had heretofore been held during the month of February but at the meeting held February 24, 1898 the constitution was amended to the effect that the fiscal year of the Society shall end February 1, and the annual meeting shall be held within such reasonable time thereafter, as the Executive Committee may previously determine, but not later than June 15th. For sufficient reasons the Fourteenth Annual Meeeting was delayed in 1899 until May 1, when it was held in the Parlors of the Y. M. C. A. Building, Columbus, Ohio at 2 P. M. standard. It was called to order by President General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, with the following members present: Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield, Prof, Young, Fostoria, George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester, Prof. G. F. Wright, Oberlin, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield, Gen. G. B. Wright, Col. W. A. Taylor, Frank T. Howe, Mrs. Rath Merrill, Prof. W. C. Mills, Rev. W. E. Moore, Hon. S. S. Rickly, J. J. Janney, E. F Wood, E. O. Randall, Columbus.

The minutes of the previous (thirteenth) annual meeting (held February 24, 1898) were not read in full as they were lengthy but the synopsis of the proceedings as given in the printed report of the secretary of the society to the Governor (January 1898) was read and approved.

Secretary Randall then said, as had been his custom in previous meetings, he would submit his annual report to the governor for his annual report to the Society. The secretary supplemented this written report by an extended oral statement concerning matters deserving the attention of the Society.

He reviewed the history of the proposition of the Hayes heirs to transfer Spiegel Grove to the Society; the part to be taken by the Society in approaching Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the proposal and

plan for quarters for the Society in the new Capitol building; and the consequent removal of the Museum, now in Orton Hall, and probably with it the Archæological collection of the University, to the expected new quarters; the participation of the Society in the forthcoming Ohio Centennial at Toledo, in which it was generally understood by the officers of the Society, and the Centennial Commissioners, that the department of Archæology and Ethnology, at the exhibition, would be under the management of our Society, with Prof. G. F. Wright of Oberlin in charge; Col. James Kilbourne, the President of the Commission, is one of our Life Members and thoroughly in harmony with the desires of the Society concerning the exhibit, though nothing definite as yet had been determined.

On February 9, 1899, the terms of office as Trustees, appointed by the Governor, of Alexander Boxwell, of Red Lion and E. O. Randall of Columbus expired, and Governor Bushnell on March 1 appointed as their successors Prof. B. F. Prince of Springfield and E. O. Randall of Columbus, these to serve for three years from February 9, 1899.

The Secretary congratulated the Society upon its progress the past year, the influence it was exerting in the line of history, biography and archæology in the State of Ohio and elsewhere, the Society is each year receiving larger recognition from the public and school libraries and from Societies of similar nature in all parts of the United States and in foreign countries.

Gen. Brinkerhoff spoke concerning the Spiegel Grove proposition, earnestly advocating its acceptance by the Society, if possible. He thought many friends of the late R. B. Hayes could be found to assist in this project. We should secure the Library Americana and the valuable manuscripts and state documents preserved in the Hayes home. He thought the Odd Fellows and members of the Prison Reform Association and National Charities Association and other philanthropists would cooperate, if the home could also be made a sort of depository and bureau of information for these interests mentioned. The Secretary thought while these institutions were worthy in themselves, and deserving all support, that the members of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society would be opposed

to its being affiliated with projects so foreign to its purpose. The main objection advanced to the scheme was that the Hayes heirs stipulated that the Library and manuscripts should not be removed from the home, and its location was too inaccessible for scholars and the general public desiring to consult such works. The Secretary had printed a lengthy circular setting forth the Hayes proposition and asking for its approval, and this circular had been sent to a large list of persons likely to be interested in the scheme, especially were they sent to former friends of President Hayes and to the members of the New York Ohio Society. There had been practically no response to these circulars and the Secretary believed it would be difficult to secure the amount required ($25.000.00). The Secretary, however, was urged to still continue his efforts to bring this matter before the proper parties. President Brinkerhoff was requested to assist.

The report was called for from the Special Committee on Local Sections of the Society, which Committee had been appointed two years before at the Annual Meeting of the Society in February 1897, their report in February 1898 having been referred to them for another year's consideration. The Committee reported that upon further consideration and consultation they were satisfied that the idea of the Local Sections or branches of the Society in various parts of the State was not feasible, and would not redound to the benefit or influence of the Society. They had no special report to make but thought that the matter ought to be dropped. By motion the committee was discharged, thus disposing of the subject.

The Curator, W. C. Mills, made an oral report; there were some 19,000 specimens belonging to the Society now in the Museum; he gave an account of a trip made by him under the direction of the Society along the Ohio River in the southern part of the State for the purpose of visiting localities offering mounds or sites of interest to the Society; he had received several collections of archæological specimens, either as loans or donations to the Society. One of the most valuable finds of the Society was that of specimens of copper ornaments found just without the walls of Ft. Ancient. These specimens were a rare discovery, as it is believed there is only one other instance

in the United States of finding similar ornaments. That other find is now in the Museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at Madison.

Slow progress has been made towards the completion of the Archæological Map, as it is difficult to obtain data concerning mounds, sites, etc. without visiting, in person, the sections of the country to be reported. It is a valuable feature, however, of our work and should be prosecuted with all possible effort. Many archæologists throughout the country are interested in the completion of this map.

The Secretary explained the special appropriation made by the last General Assembly (73rd) of $3,000 for the republication of volumes one to five inclusive of the previous annuals of the Society. It was intended that that amount would secure to each member of the Legislature ten complete sets (i. e. ten copies each of volumes one to five) and also leave the Society some three hundred sets for its distribution to libraries and for exchange for the works of other societies, but in the meantime Volume VI appeared and the members desired to complete their sets by having an equal number of Volume VI, and this additional expense to the Society for the enlarged edition of Volume VI had to be deducted from the total amount of the $3,000, thus depriving the Society of its expected quota of Volumes one to five. It is believed the next Legislature (74th) will, in its appropriation for publications, make up for this deficit.

The Trustees elected by the Society whose terms matured at this time are: Hon. John Sherman, William E. Moore, Prof. John B. Peaslee, Prof. G. F. Wright and Mr. A. H. Smythe. A Nominating Committee consisting of Messrs. Bareis, Taylor and Wood was appointed to name candidates for election as their successors. After due consideration the Committee reported the following nominees to serve for three years, viz: Hon. John Sherman, Mansfield; Prof. G. F. Wright, Oberlin; Robert Clarke, Cincinnati; Rev. William E. Moore, Columbus, and Judge James H. Anderson, Columbus. The Secretary was, by vote, instructed to cast a ballot for these nominees and he so did, and they were declared elected.

The Secretary complimented the work being done by Mr. W. C. Mills, the Curator. He had largely rearranged and relabeled the specimens in the Society's Museum, and was planning for explorations that would doubtless be most valuable to the Society. He bespoke for the Curator approval and encouragement.

In view of the part which the Society is to take in the coming Ohio Centennial, it was greatly desired that the Legislature make ample provision for work along the archæological lines during the coming year.

The Executive Committee and the Secretary were instructed to make every possible effort to secure suitable quarters for the Society in the new Capitol Building.

The Secretary reported the dilapidated and almost tenantless condition of the Custodian's house on Ft. Ancient and stated there would have to be extensive repairs and additions, if not a practical rebuilding of the house. There was no hotel or stopping place for visitors at the station or Fort, and there should be accommodations provided for those who come from a distance and are compelled to remain during the day or over night, and particularly should this be done in view of the coming convention of the Association for the Advancement of Science, when large numbers of delegates would be visiting at the Fort.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

The annual meeting of the Trustees was held immediately upon the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Society. There were present the following Trustees: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Gen. George B. Wright, Rev. Wm. E. Moore, Prof. B. F. Prince, Prof. G. F. Wright and Messrs. S. S. Rickly, Geo. F. Bareis and E. O. Randall. The election of officers of the Board of Trustees to act as officers of the Society for the ensuing year resulted as follows: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, President; Rev. Wm. E. Moore, Vice-President; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Treasurer; Mr. E. F. Wood, Assistant Treasurer; Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary, and Prof. W. C. Mills, Curator.

The following were selected as members of the Executive Committee, which acts as the governing authority of the Society:

Messrs. Brinkerhoff, Moore, Wright (G. B.), Wright (G. F.), Prince, Bareis, Rickly, Ryan, Randall, Anderson, McIntire.

It was decided that the meetings of the Executive Committee be held on the first Wednesday of each month at 3:30 P. M. in the Reference Room of the Public Library, Columbus.

On the evening of the annual meeting (May 1) Prof. Archer B. Hulbert, of Hudson, Ohio, delivered a lecture before the Society and invited guests in the Auditorium of the O. S. U. His subject was the "Early Roadways and Indian Trails of Ohio," a subject of which Mr. Hurlbert was complete master, as he had spent some two years in traveling over the state and informing himself upon this unusual and almost forgotten topic. The lecture was illustrated by stereopticon views and the large audience was intensely interested in the discourse of the professor.

WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The work of the Executive Committee during the past year has been especially exacting and energetic. The work done at Ft. Ancient; the participation of the Society in the proceedings of the Convention for the Advancement of Science and the planning for the work in connection with the Ohio Centennial, added much to the labors of the Committee. The Committee has held twelve meetings during the year (1899); January 11; February 10; March 1; April 10; May 1; June 7; July 7; August 9; September 5; October 4; November 1 and December 8. The following comprised the Standing Committees. Finance: Rickly, Wright (G. B.), Ryan; Ft. Ancient: Anderson, Bareis and Mills; Museum and Library: Bareis, Orton and McIntire; Publication: Ryan, Prince and Randall; Ohio Centennial Committee: Wright (G. F.), Brinkerhoff and Randall. Special and separate meetings were held by the Committees on Finance, Ft. Ancient and Library and Museum. The members of the Committees have always promptly and zealously responded to any call made by the Secretary. Every detail of the affairs of the Society has passed under the supervision of the Executive Committee and most accurate and complete minutes of the preceedings of these Committees have been kept by the Secretary.

SCIENCE CONVENTION.

In the month of August, (21 to 26 inclusive), there was held at Columbus the Annual Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and in the management of that Convention our Society took a conspicuous and commendable part. The Secretary of the Society (Randall) was a member of the Executive Local Committee, having full charge of the arrangements for the Convention and he was also chairman of the Excursion Committee. Dr. Edward Orton, one of our Life and most zealous members had the distinguished honor of being President of the Association and of presiding over the Convention. The meetings of the Association in its various branches were held in the buildings of the Ohio State University, giving the members an excellent opportunity to visit the Museum of our Soctiey and the delegates to the Archæological section of the Convention were highly pleased with what they saw of our Society and the work it is doing. Many distinguised archæologists in the country, such as Profs. Putnam and Russell of Harvard University, McCurdy of Yale, Leverett of Chicago, Wilson of Smithsonian Institute and Hovey of Newburryport and others took special interest in our Society and spoke in the highest terms of the value and extent of our collection and the progress of our work. At the close of the Convention the delegates, through their Executive Committee, publicly and formally expressed their thanks to the Archæological and Historical Society and its Secretary for the very efficient aid contributed to the success and pleasure of the Convention. On the evening of August 23rd, during the Convention, at a public meeting held in the Board of Trade Auditorium, Prof. Thomas Wilson, Curator of the Smithsonian Institute, presented to the Archæological and Historical Society as custodian for the State of Ohio, a fine portrait of Thomas Corwin. Secretary Randall explained to the audience the significance of the event, Prof. Wilson made the presentation speech and Hon. D. J. Ryan received the portrait in behalf of the State and the Society. Interesting remarks on the part of the Corwin Family were made by Mr. George W. Cropper of Cincinnati, grandson of the distinguished Governor Thomas Corwin.

EXCURSION TO FORT ANCIENT.

On Saturday, August 26, among other excursions which were planned for the profit and pleasure of the members of the Convention, was one to Fort Ancient under the direction and auspices of our Society. The special train for the occassion was generously furnished to the Society by the P. C. C. & St. L. Ry. Co. through the courtesy of Mr. J. M. Harris, D. P. A. of Columbus. The party consisted of 100 people, delegates to the Convention and members of the Society. The weather was perfect and all the arrangements passed off without a flaw. Luncheon was served in the open air in the old Fort and an after dinner program was carried out, Secretary Randall acting as Toast Master with speeches from Prof. G. F. Wright of Oberlin, Rev. A. C. Hovey of Newburryport, Mass. and Prof. G. G. MacCurdy of Yale, Prof. Frank Leverett of U. S. Geological Survey, Hon. Josiah Morrow of Lebanon, Trustee George F. Bareis and Curator W. C. Mills. All the portions of the Fort were inspected and the distinguished guests expressed themselves enthusiastically over the extent of the earthworks and the admirable manner in which they were cared for by our Society.

CARE OF FORT ANCIENT.

This is a fitting place to speak of the work during the past year by the Society in the preservation and improvement of Ft. Ancient. On Aug, 1, 1899, the previous contract with Mr. Warren Cowen as custodian of the Fort expired, and the Executive Committee authorized the Secretary to enter into a new contract with Mr. Cowen for another period of three years. Mr. Cowen by experience, efficiency and faithfulness has become valuable to the Society, in the office which he has filled for so many years. By the terms of the contract he has charge of the Fort; the duty of seeing that the embankments are kept intact and uninjured and of keeping the interior clear of underbrush, rubbish, etc. It is also incumbent upon him to employ and keep in the Fort house a tenant who shall always be on the ground, to guide visitors and to look after and protect the property. The house of this tenant, an old and at the start very unsuitable

one for the purpose, had become so dilapidated and insecure that repairing and remodeling was a necessity. practically to the extent of its being rebuilt, and this has been done the past year by order of the Executive Committtee under the direction of the Ft. Ancient Committtee, Mr. Bareis devoting much time and attention to the work and most satisfactorily has he performed the task assigned to him. The Ft. Ancient Committee, the Secretary and some of the officers of the Society made trips to the Fort as occassion required. The herewith accompanying report speaks for itself.

Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary:

Dear Sir: — The past year marked an active period in the work of the Committee on Ft. Ancient, as well also, a sad one. In the death of Rev. Wm. E. Moore, D. D., who for several years served as chairman of this Committee, and also filled the position of Superintendent of Fort Ancient, the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society lost a most intelligent and enthusiastic student of this remarkable ancient earth-work. The days spent in his congenial company, visiting the Fort—planning how to preserve and restore its wonderful walls and gateways, and how best to make it attractive and pleasant as a resort for the student and others — will not soon be forgotten. It is due his memory, that we mention, how he gratuitously devoted his varied information and many days of his time to the best interests of this work.

The policy adopted by Dr. Moore, of preserving and restoring the walls, of clearing the undergrowth and draining off the surface water has been continued. The walls on the first purchase are all now quite well cleared and the work of clearing the later purchase is progressing. Many of the most interesting parts of the whole works are found on the last purchase; these walls were so densely covered with undergrowth that few who visited the Fort ventured to explore them. The present arrangement, lately entered into with Mr. Warren Cowen of having a man and team constantly employed on the grounds will greatly expedite matters. A great deal of labor is still required in removing fallen and dead trees, in putting in stone and brush dams and adding to those already in, to prevent further washes, and in keeping down the weeds and undergrowth on the ground already grown over. Appropriation to carry on this work will be needed for a few years yet, when the place will be practically self-supporting.

According to the recommendation of our Committee the Executive Committee authorized us to remodel the residence building. The work was planned and contracted early in the summer and is now completed; the old house was remodeled and four new rooms added. We now have a commodious 8 room house, substantially built, attractive in apearance, and affording a suitable residence for the custodian and also rooms for the use of the Society and its officers and transient visitors.

The visit of the American Association for the Advancement of Science to Ft. Ancient, last August, afforded a rare apportunity to submit the work undertaken by our Society to the critical judgment of some of the most expert students of the ancient earthworks of our country. Expressions of surprise and unstinted words of praise and approval, of what Ohio is doing along this line were the result. These works are the records in earth and stone of an ancient people—Ohio men—who once inhabited our rich valleys and verdant hills, and they should be as sacredly preserved and cared for as those left in sculpture or manuscript.

More persons have visited Fort Ancient the past season than ever before. Some—the larger number—come to see and study, others are attracted by the magnificent view, that the clearing of the walls has revealed. Your Committee is of the opinion that an annual excursion should be arranged for, at such time as the governor, the members of the legislature, teachers and others could make this trip: such an annual visit would be in line with the desire of the Society and with the object the State had in view when the purchase was made.

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. F. BAREIS, *Chairman.*

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

The publications of the Society the past year have been especially valuable, judging by the demand for them by the libraries, colleges and scholars throughout the country. In September was issued Volume VII of our annuals; the table of contents was as follows:

The Indian Tribes of Ohio. Warren K. Moorehead.
Report of Field Work. Warren K. Moorehead.
Centennial Anniversary of Wayne's Treaty of Greenville.
Address of Governor McKinley.
The Treaty of Greenville. Samuel F. Hunt.
Address of Wm. J. Gilmore.

The Western Reserve. F. E. Hutchins.
Fourteenth Annual Report. E. O. Randall.
The Gnadenhutten Centennial.
The Rev. John Heckewelder. Wm. H. Rice.
An Outing on the Congo. William H. Safford.

This volume contained the quarterlies up to and including April, 1899. In addition to this volume the Society has also issued a quarterly for Judy (1899) devoted to the "History of the Zoar Society," by E. O. Randall, and the quarterly for October containing articles on "David Tod," by Gen. G. B. Wright, and a supplemental article on the "Pathfinders of Jefferson County," by W. H. Hunter. The quarterly for January, 1900, will contain articles by Archer B. Hulbert on the "Indian Trails and Early Roadways of Ohio," and an "Experience of an Arkansas Traveler in Ohio," by Thomas Wilson, of the Smithsonian Institute.

For a long time the Society has desired to publish an Archæological History of Ohio, and it has finally entered upon that work by the employment of Gerard Fowke, of Chillicothe, to prepare the material for such a book. It is not feasible to present in advance a detailed outline of subjects or arrangement, but as proposed by the Trustees and Mr. Fowke this volume will treat, as fully as space will allow, of:

Paleolithic man: What the term means; how the knowledge of his existence is gained; the evidence in America, and especially in Ohio.

Mound Builders: The various theories as to their origin; historical reference; character of the works, as —

A. Enclosures, on hills or level lands; extent, possible uses, situation in regard to topographical surroundings.
B. Mounds; size, situation, contents, similarities and differences.
C. Village-sites; same as mounds.
D. Customs and methods of life so far as analogy by comparison with known peoples will justify us in assuming.
E. Distribution of various sorts of remains.
F. Description and explanation of the various classes of relics.

Indians; their migrations; their manner of life; their various stages of culture; the history of those found in Ohio at its settlement; the resemblance in the features of their work and habits (of the southern Indians) to some observed in the remains of the Mound Builders.

Relics (using the word in common meaning); sources of the various materials used; the manner of procuring them; methods of converting into desired shapes; uses of various forms; comparison of mound specimens with those in use in various parts of the world.

This volume will consist of some five hundred pages and will be fully illustrated with maps, diagrams and reproductions of mounds, forts, etc., of special prominence. Ohio is the richest state in the Union in archæological material and resources, and this work, when complete, will be not only of greatest interest to people in Ohio, but of greatest value to archæological students throughout the world. No state has yet produced such a work.

Mr. Gerard Fowke is unusually well qualified to accomplish this for the Society. He is an accurate and painstaking scholar. For many years he has been a close and careful student of archæology. He has done admirable work under the auspices of the United States Government for the Smithsonian Institute and for the State of Ohio in the department of geological survey. He also spent nearly a year in Siberia and some of the oriental countries making scientific observations and securing archæological specimens and data for the American Museum of Natural History of New York. This book will be especially timely and serviceable in view of the part which the Archæological and Historical Society is to take in the forthcoming Ohio Centennial.

The State has never put forth any documents so eagerly and extensively sought after or so valuable as the publications of this Society. The material contained in its annuals is all especially prepared for this purpose by prominent, competent and reliable authors. Much of it cannot be found in any form whatever in any other publications. The Society is thus collecting and disseminating original historical and archæological data of inestimable value.

PREVIOUS VOLUMES OF THE SOCIETY.

As this annual report will reach a great many readers who are unacquainted with the work of our Society, it is deemed proper to incorporate herein the tables of contents of the six volumes heretofore published.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

Aboriginal History of Butler County, Ohio. J. P. MacLean.
Ancient Earthwork near Oxford, Ohio. R. W. McFarland.
Archæological Exhibit for the Ohio Centennial. M. C. Read.
Archæological Directory of Ohio. A. A. Graham.
Archæological, Historical and Pioneer Collections in Ohio.
Archæology in Ohio, Importance of the Study. G. F. Wright.
Archæology in Ohio, The Relation of the Glacial Period to. G. F. Wright.
Beginning of the Colonial System of the United States, The. I. W. Andrews.
Bibliography of the Earthworks of Ohio. Mrs. Cyrus Thomas.
Blennerhassett. E. O. Randall.
Chase, Salmon P. N. S. Townshend.
Curtis, Henry B. A. R. McIntire.
Earthworks, The Proper Method of Exploring.
Earthworks of Franklin County, Ohio. P. M. Wetmore.
First Circumnavigation of the Earth. B. A. Hinsdale.
Fort Hill, Ohio. W. A. Overman.
Gallagher, William Davis. W. H. Venable.
Historical, Pioneer, and other such societies in Ohio.
Legislation in the Northwest Territory. A. A. Graham.
Letter from a Pioneer Author to a Pioneer Editor.
Literary Periodicals of the Ohio Valley. W. H. Venable.
Mounds and Earthworks of Ohio, Report on the Present Condition of. G. F. Wright.
Ohio Company, Services of, in Defending the United States Frontier from Invasion. W. P. Cutler.
Ordinance of 1787, The. W. P. Cutler.
Origin of the Ohio Company.
Pioneer Days in Central Ohio. Henry B. Curtis.
Pre-glacial Man in Ohio. G. F. Wright.
Pyramids and Buried Cities in the Land of the Montezumas. Fannie B. Ward.
Serpent Mound Saved, The. F. W. Putnam.
Some Early Travelers and Annalists of the Ohio Valley. W. H. Venable.
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Rio Grande College, History of. Rev. J. M. Davis.
Scioto Company and its Purchase, The. Daniel J. Ryan.
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An Early Abolition Colony and Its Founder. A. A. Graham.
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Boundary Line Between Ohio and Virginia. Introductory.
Argument Concerning Boundary Line Between Ohio and Virginia. Samuel F. Vinton.

Boundary Line Between Ohio and Indiana, and Between Ohio and Michigan. Special reports of Dr. T. C. Mendenhall and A. A. Graham.
The Ohio-Michigan Boundary Line Dispute. T. B. Galloway.
Samuel Finley Vinton. Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren.
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1. From Charter to Constitution. Being a collection of Public Documents pertaining to the Territory of the Northwest and the State of Ohio, from the Charters of James I., to and including the First Constitution of Ohio, and the State Papers relating to its admission into the Union, showing thereby the Historical Chain of Title of said State from 1606 to 1803. D. J. Ryan.
2. Work of the Society for the year 1896 in Archæological Research and Exploration. W. K. Moorehead.
3. Report of Proceedings of Society for 1895 and 1896. E. O. Randall.
4. The Evolution of Ohio Counties. J. F. Laning.

Six maps and forty-nine illustrations.

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3. Franklinton—An Historical Address. By General John Beatty.
4. The Ohio Indians. By Col. E. L. Taylor.
5. The Pathfinders of Jefferson County. By W. H. Hunter.
6. The Centennial of Jefferson County. Compiled by W. H. Hunter.
7. Stanton Day—Ohio Men and Ideas. By Prof. W. H. Venable, LL. D.
8. Edwin M. Stanton. By Gen. Daniel Sickles.
9. A Tribute to Stanton. By Hon. J. H. Trainer.
10. Pioneer Day. Addresses by Hon. J. J. Gill, John M. Cook, Esq., Hon. Webster Davis.
11. Military Day. Address by Gen. S. H. Hurst.
12. Addenda to the Pathfinders of Jefferson County.
13. Twelfth Annual Report of the Society to the Governor. By E. O. Randall, Secretary.
14. Addresses before the Ohio State Archæological Society—Gen. Brinkerhoff, Prof. Wright, Prof. Orton, President Canfield.
15. Twenty Illustrations.

QUARTERS FOR THE SOCIETY.

The most perplexing problem with which the Society has wrestled since its organization has been that concerning proper quarters for its property and work. It has been greatly hampered in its progress and usefulness by lack of Museum, Library and Office quarters. When the project for the new capitol building took definite shape it was hoped and expected that edifice would solve our difficulty and give us ample accommodations, either in some of the rooms vacated in the old building or in spacious quarters especially assigned us in the new. On May 12 (1899) the Secretary appeared before the Building Commission and was given a patient hearing as to the needs of the Society for a local habitation. After due consideration by the Committee and with the hearty endorsement of the Governor the Building Commission tendered to the Society the top or fourth floor of the new building, and the architect was requested to consult with the officials of the Society and arrange the partitions and furniture in accordance with the requirements of the Society. It was supposed at that time that the proposed room would more than meet our needs. Subsequently it was found necessary to so change the plans of the building that the fourth story was largely cut into and occupied by extending the height of the Court rooms in the story below and by the intervention of the elevator, light and air shafts, so that the space finally placed at our disposal was a narrow strip on the east side of the building, giving us in total in the new state house but 1900 square feet of floor space, as compared with 3300 square feet in Orton Hall of the Ohio State University. The room now allotted us in the University is totally inadequate for our purpose and all this without reference to quarters for our library, which was then cared for in one of the alcoves of the State Library. This led to the disappointing decision that the Society could not be accommodated in the new building, and the rooms to be vacated in the old building were to be so apportioned for existing state departments, that there was no room in that quarter at our disposal. The Secretary reported this state of affairs to the Executive Committee at its meeting on September 5, and a committee consisting of Messrs. Randall,

Bareis and Mills was appointed to confer with the University authorities and learn if any increased accommodations could be obtained there. The Executive Committee of the Trustees of the Ohio State University were very hearty in their expressions of support and in their endeavors to satisfactorily arrange for the retention of the Society's quarters upon the College Campus, and after several joint consultations additional cases were provided for our specimens in Orton Hall, and an excellent library room and shelves erected therein exclusively for our Library, and a room assigned us as a Museum for our historical relics. These quarters are now occupied as provided by the Ohio State University. Our Library has been removed from the State Library into the new quarters and it is now mutually understood by the Trustees of the Society and the Trustees of the O. S. U., that for an indefinite period, at any rate, we will remain at the University, with the expectation that in the near future the Legislature will either provide a special building for us or quarters adapted to our purposes in connection with some of the buildings erected for the University. In our compulsory abandonment of the new Capitol the Trustees of the Society attach no blame to the Building Commission, but rather do we wish to thank them for desiring to do all that they could in our behalf.

While the Society might be more independent and distinct in its work and growth if it had quarters isolated from any other state interest, yet on the other hand much of our work is identical with and collateral to some of the departments in the University, and perhaps it is for the joint interest of both that the Society be located upon the grounds of and operate in touch with the Ohio State University.

SPIEGEL GROVE PROPOSITION.

In April, 1898, the heirs and children of Rutherford B. Hayes made a proposition, after proper consultation, to the Trustees of the Society to the effect that they would transfer and deed to the Society the home of their father at Fremont, Ohio, known as Spiegel Grove, containing about twenty-five acres of land with the homestead buildings; this transfer to

be upon the condition that the Society "raise a fund of $25,000 to be set aside and managed in such a way that the principal should not be encroached upon, but the income from it devoted to preserving and caring for the Spiegel Grove property." This proposition was never legally accepted by the Society, but the option of its acceptance was left open until July 1, 1899. Circulars in behalf of the object, and asking for approval and financial support, were sent to various persons throughout the country who it was believed might be interested therein. There was practically no response to the appeal. President Brinkerhoff and Secretary Randall personally conferred with prominent parties thought likely to assist, but after proper effort had been made it was concluded the fund could not be easily raised, if at all, and the Trustees of the Society have never been thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of securing the property, even if feasible. At their meeting on December 8, 1899, the Trustees resolved to discontinue further efforts in this direction. The Trustees feel that it is proper at this time that they extend to the Hayes heirs their grateful appreciation of the generous proposition and the effort they have manifested in the interest of our Society.

SERPENT MOUND.

During his visit to the city on the occasion of the Convention for the Advancement of Science, Prof. F. W. Putnam, of Harvard University, stated to the officers of the Society that if they would accept, repair and hereafter suitably preserve and guard, the property known as Serpent Mound, located in Adams County, near Peebles Station, and now the property of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology in connection with the Harvard University, that the Trustees of that institution would transfer to us said property. This property consists of some fifty-eight acres of land known as the Serpent Mound Park, including the remarkable, unique and interesting relic of the Mound Builders, an earthen structure in the form of an immense serpent, some thirteen hundred feet in length (for full description and history of this mound, see Vol. I., page 187 of the Society's annuals.) The Trustees of the Peabody

Museum paid several thousand dollars for the property and expended some two thousand dollars more in excavating, restoring and preserving this property. It is proposed to transfer it to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society without any financial consideration, and only upon the condition stated above. This is a rare opportunity for the State Society to obtain this invaluable property and should not be permitted to pass without acceptance. It will cost but a few hundred dollars to put it in proper condition and require perhaps one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars a year to preserve and guard it. By request of the Trustees, Messrs. Wright (G. F.), Randall and Mills visited the Mound on November 12 and subsequently reported to the Trustees that the proposition should by all means be accepted, if provision could be made to cover the expense incidental to the condition of acceptance and retention. This Mound is visited daily by scholars and curiosity seekers from all parts of the country, and accurate models of it have been made and are in many of the Archæological Museums in the United States and foreign countries.

OHIO CENTENNIAL.

It is intended, both by the Society and the Centennial Commissioners, that we will take a very active and prominent part in the exhibition at Toledo in 1902. Col. James Kilbourne, President of the Centennial Commission, is one of our life members and zealously in accord with our purpose and work. The Hon. D. J. Ryan, Director General of the Centennial, is one of our life members, trustee and a member of the Executive Committee. The Hon. Charles P. Griffin, of Toledo, one of the leading officials of the Board of Managers of the Centennial, is also one of our life members and a trustee. It is conceded that the proper authority to have charge in that exhibition of the section of Archæology and Ethnology is the Archæological and Historical Society. Prof. G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, one of the foremost scholars in Archæology and Ethnology in the country, will have the immediate supervision of the details of the exhibit to be made in this department.

And in this undertaking the Western Reserve Historical Society, J. P. MacLean, Librarian, and the Natural Historical Society of Cincinnati, Josua Lindahl, Director, have expressed themselves as desirous of co-operating in every way possible with the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

WORK OF THE CURATOR.

Mr. W. C. Mills the Curator has done the Society most excellent service the past year. The duties of his office have materially increased. Numerous additions to the collection of specimens have been made. The Museum is becoming each year more and more the place of visitation by strangers and the object of study by students in archæology and ethnology. Many of the teachers of the public schools have taken their pupils to the Museum that they might be interested and stimulated and profited by the object lessons which the Museum teaches in the topics the pupils are studying in their text books.

Mr. Mills' report, herewith given briefly sketches the main feature of this year's labor. An extensive and detailed report of the field work conducted under his supervision the past summer will appear in volume VIII of the Society's Annual Publications, which will be issued in April 1900.

MR. E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary.*

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor as Curator to report upon work in the museum and field, during the year ending December 30, 1899. From January 1 to June 15 the time was occupied in rearranging and labeling the specimens in the museum. On June 19 the field work was commenced near Bourneville, Ross County, Ohio, where we examined an old village site surrounding the Baum works and known as the Baum Village Site. It is situated upon a low gravel terrace on the farm of J. E. Baum and completely surrounds the large mound first described by Squier and Davis as a pyramidal mound, 15 feet high and 125 feet in diameter. This mound was partially explored by the Bureau of Ethnology, an account of which is found in their 12th annual report 1890-91. Directly south of the mound the land is several feet lower than in any other direction. Here we unearthed some refuse heaps about 14 inches under the surface. In these refuse heaps were found the broken bones of wild animals, shells of

the fresh water mussel, broken pottery, broken and perfect implements of stone, bone and shell, great numbers of beads and ornaments made of shell or bone, and teeth of wild animals. Directly north of the mound no refuse heaps were found, but instead large pits filled with ashes, bones of animals, broken pottery and broken and perfect implements, ornaments, etc., also the skeletons of infants. Some of these pits were 7 ft. deep and 4 ft. in diameter. More than 1000 specimens of aboriginal manufacture were obtained in this village site and our work practically just begun. During the month of August the American Association for the Advancement of Science held their sessions in various buildings upon the University campus and many of its members especially of Section H. (Anthropology) availed themselves of the invitation to make the museum headquarters during their stay in the city.

During September more room was granted the Society by the University authorities. Room 7 in Orton Hall was newly fitted up and the Historical collection formerly exhibited in room 16 was moved into it. Room 16 was also painted and varnished and shelving suitable for the Society's library was placed on the west side of the room. On Oct. 5th the Society directed the Curator to remove the books from the State Library, Capitol Building, to Orton Hall, and on Dec. 8 the Curator was elected Librarian of the Society. The work of cataloging and arranging the books is under headway and will be completed in due time.

During the year several collections have been donated to the museum. The following presented specimens: A. B. Coover, Roxabell, O., M. A. Honlein, Columbus, O., Perry Wolfe, Ft. Ancient, O., Wm. Stoneman, Ft. Ancient, O., Rev. Henry J. Van Vleck, Gnadenhutten, O., Robt. H. Foerderer, Philadelphia, Pa., W. G. Junod, Columbus O., Warren Cowen, Ft. Ancient, O.

Mr. J. W. Tweed, Ripley, O., loaned a large collection gathered within 10 miles of Ripley. It numbers 2319 specimens.

Our thanks are especially due to Baker's Art Gallery Company of Columbus for the generous gift of a very numerous and valuable collection of life size photographs of prominent Ohio officials, governors, senators, etc. These pictures are appropriately framed and will be hung on the walls of our Museum room.

During the year I have visited a number of places in Ohio, in the interest of the Society. Beginning April 15, 1899, I travelled the Scioto Valley from Columbus to Portsmouth looking over the territory for future field work. August 27-29, a party consisting of Prof. G. F. Wright of Oberlin, Prof. MacCurdy of Yale, Secretary Randall, Mr. Gerard Fowke and myself made

a trip to the various points of archæological interest in Ross County. Careful examinations were made of the Hopewell Group, the Baum Village Site, the Stone Fort on Spruce Hill, the Harness and High Banks earth works and the enclosures at Cedar Banks and Hopetown. This excursion will be of much value to the Society, as it places us in full information concerning the condition and importance of the earth works visited.

On Oct. 14, 1899, I visited Cincinnati and Madisonville for the purpose of prospecting for future work. Nov. 25, 1899, I visited American Museum of Natural History, New York City. The anthropological display is not open to the public but through the kindness of Prof. F. W. Putnam, the director, I was enabled to visit all the rooms where specimens were being arranged. This gave me a coveted opportunity to study the methods employed in the display of archæological specimens. I also inspected the Astor and Lenox Libraries and studied their methods.

On Nov. 29 I visited the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science and employed the greater part of one day looking over the specimens.

Nov. 30 was spent in the museums of Philadelphia where I saw but few Ohio specimens.

Dec. 2 to Dec. 5 were devoted to Washington, D. C., where Dr. Thomas Wilson, Curator of the Department of Archæology Smithsonian Institute gave me much of his time in explaining the arrangement and manner of cataloguing of this wonderful display of pre-historic man. I also visited the National Museum, and the Libraries of Washington.

I beg to thank the officers and trustees for their kind suggestions and co-operation relating to the work under my charge.

Respectfully submitted,

W. C. Mills, *Curator and Librarian.*

APPROPRIATIONS.

The budget made out by the Trustees and submitted to the Auditor of State speaks for itself and it is not herewith reproduced. Where increased amounts are necessarily asked for, items of explanation are appended. It is firmly believed that the members of the 74th General Assembly will examine and appreciate the work being done by our Society and will respond to its justifiable requests.

NECROLOGY.

During the past year our Society has met with severe losses in the death of some of its most honored and effective members.

Rev. Wm. E. Moore, D. D., LL. D., vice-president, trustee and life member, died in Columbus, O., June 5, 1899.

Robert Clarke, the well-known publisher, a trustee and life member, died in Cincinnati August 26, 1899.

Edward Orton, LL. D., life member and elected trustee, died in Columbus October 16, 1899.

Fitting memorials to these distinguished citizens and members of our Society will appear in Volume VIII of our annuals.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this report the Secretary wishes to express the appreciative gratitude of the Society for the interest taken in and aid rendered us by Governor Bushnell, State Auditor Guilbert and especially to the daily papers of Columbus and other cities of Ohio for their endorsement and assistance.

Personally the Secretary desires to thank the officers and trustees of the Society and especially the Executive Committee for their uniform kindness and courtesy to him.

Respectfully submitted,

E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary.*

Columbus, Ohio, January, 1900.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1899.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand February 1, 1899	$542.27	
Life Memberships	100.00	
Active Memberships	93.00	
Books sold	36.25	
Interest	50.80	
Furniture sold	4.44	
Expenses Refunded	19.75	
From State Treasury—		
For Publications	700.00	
For care of Ft. Ancient	880.25	
For Field Work, Etc.	516.17	
For Current Expenses	1831.48	
		$4774.41

DISBURSEMENTS.

Office Expenses	$91.67	
Job Printing	7.50	
Publications	700.00	
Museum	65.71	
Field Work	453.46	
Salaries	1283.33	
Express and Freight	17.42	
Postage	51.70	
Trustee and Committee Expenses	102.85	
Lecture at O. S. U.	40.00	
Sundry Expenses	102.08	
Care of Ft. Ancient	957.82	
Permanent Fund	150.80	
Balance on hand Dec. 30, 1899	750.07	
		$4774.41

The above balance of $750.07 on hand December 31, 1899, will more than be exhausted by outstanding liabilities and expenses to be incurred necessarily before February 15, the close of the fiscal year.

Respectfully submitted,

S. S. RICKLY, *Treasurer.*

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

An Oration Delivered by Judge Samuel F. Hunt on the Centennial of the Defeat of General Arthur St. Clair and on the Occasion of the Re-interment of the Dead who Fell in the Engagement on the Battle-field. Ft. Recovery, O., Oct. 16, 1891.*

It is said that for more than six hundred years after the battle of Morgarten the Swiss peasantry gathered on the fleld of battle to commemorate those who had fallen for freedom. We have assembled to-day in the same spirit to do honor to the gallant dead, who, one hundred years ago, gave their lives for their country in this fatal field, and amidst their hallowed ashes to perpetuate the story of their unselfish patriotism. A great Republic, mighty in its perfect unity, guards with tender care the memory

* Note. — (From the *Cincinnati* [Daily] *Enquirer.* October 17, 1891.)

Ft. Recovery, O., Oct. 16. — The grand centennial celebration of the battle of St. Clair closed to-day, and the expectations of the Monumental Association have been realized fully. Great crowds of people have assembled each day to pay homage to the dead heroes.

This morning dawned with a clear sky, seemingly the act of Providence to prepare a perfect day for the crowning event of the exercises. Fully 15,000 people assembled to-day on the old battle ground of Ft. Recovery to witness the sad rites of placing the remains of the dead heroes in their third and last resting place. It will be remembered that the bones of the old soldiers were discovered in a pit, where they had been placed by their comrades after the battle. The first skull was found by the late Judge Roop by mere accident after a rain, which had washed them out to view. This was in June, 1851, and they lay in that state until October of the same year, when they were interred in a private cemetery amid grand ceremonies. They rested in their earthly abodes until a few days ago, when they were again taken up to prepare for their final resting place. It was to-day this rite was performed. The exercises this forenoon were: Speaking at the grounds and military parade, Colonel Bundy, of Cincinnati, being the principal orator.

General J. P. C. Shanks, of Portland, Ind., delivered an interesting address relative to the defeat of Arthur St. Clair. At noon Judge Samuel F. Hunt, of Cincinnati, Senator Godfrey, of Celina, and Mayor

of every man, whether on land or on sea, who has lifted up his hand for his country and the glory of the flag.

We here reverently do honor not only to the memory of the gallant Butler and those who fell with him on that day of dreadful disaster under St. Clair, but to those tried and patriotic men who followed Anthony Wayne and perished at last at the Fallen Timbers, and those hardy pioneers who protected the frontier before civil authority was established, and saved defenseless settlements from the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indian.

THE ILLIMITABLE WEST.

When George Washington, on the 25th day of November, 1758, — then in his twenty-sixth year, — planted the British flag on the deserted ruins of the fortress at the junction of the Monon-

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Blackburn, of Cincinnati, arrived. The procession was then formed at the Christian Church, where the remains were lying in state. The Sidney Cornet Band headed the procession, playing a slow march, followed by the military company from Portland, Ind. The Sons of Veterans came next, followed by the G. A. R. Post of this city. Then came the catafalque on which the remains were placed, drawn by four horses. The Executive Board of the Monumental Association followed the catafalque and a procession of young ladies, representing the different states of the Union, brought up the rear. The procession slowly marched from the church through the city to the park, where the grave had been prepared to receive the remains. Prayer was offered by Rev. O. S. Green, after which General Shanks delivered the dedication address. Three salutes were fired by the military over the graves of the soldiers. The scene was an impressive one, and will be remembered by all who witnessed it. Amid the tolling of the church bells throughout the city the remains of the five hundred soldiers, together with those of General Butler, were consigned once more to the silent tomb, never to be again disturbed. The park is a most beautiful one, and was purchased by the city for the site of a monument, which will no doubt some day be erected. The monument will be placed directly in the center of the park over the graves of the dead soldiers. The remains of General Butler were discovered and interred in 1876, and a few years later his sword was found nearly on the same spot. His name and the crown of England were engraved upon it. The address of Judge Hunt this afternoon was listened to by 10,000 people. Thus closed an event of national importance. The fact that visitors were here from half the states of the Union showed what an interest has been taken in the event throughout the country.

gahela and the Allegheny rivers, the banners of England floated for the first time over the Ohio. This was the extreme western post of British rule in North America, and from the gateway of the west there stretched toward the setting sun the solemn and mysterious forest. There was nothing but an endless space of shadowy woodland. The forests crowned the mountains from crest to river-bed and extended in melancholy wastes toward the distant Mississippi. It has been well expressed that the sunlight could not penetrate the roof-archway of murmuring leaves while deep in its tangled depths lurked the red foe, hawk-eyed and wolf-hearted. Here and there were great prairies with copses of woodland like islands in the sunny seas of tall, waving grass. In all that solitude there was no sound save that of the woodman's axe.

The English had been driven from every cabin in the basin of the Ohio. France had her posts on each side of the Lakes, and at Detroit, at Mackinaw, at Kaskaskia and at New Orleans, and the claim of France to the valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence seemed established by possession. The flag of the Bourbon dynasty which floated from the battlements of Quebec was the emblem of sovereignty over this vast territory.

The victory of Wolfe over Montcalm on the heights of Abraham, on September 9, 1759, decided whether the vast central valley of North America should bear throughout all coming time the impress of French or English civilization. The continent was saved from French domination, and the dying hero praised God for the victory over the French as his spirit escaped in the blaze of its glory. The historian says that night, silence, the rushing tide, veteran discipline, the sure inspiration of genius, had been his allies; his battle field, high over the ocean-river, was the grandest theatre on earth for illustrious deeds; his victory, one of the most momentous in the annals of mankind, gave to the English tongue and the institutions of the Germanic race the unexplored and seemingly infinite West and North. He crowded into a few hours actions that would have given lustre to length of life; and fulfilling his day with greatness, completed it before its noon.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE NORTH WEST.

The North Western Territory, after the conquest of the French possessions in North America by Great Britain, was ceded to Great Britain by France by the treaty of Paris in 1763. By an act of Parliament of Great Britain passed in 1774, the whole of the North Western Territory was annexed to and made a part of the Province of Quebec as established by royal proclamation of October 1763, and by the treaty of peace, signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, the claim of the English Monarch to the North Western Territory was ceded to the United States. The title claimed by Virginia, Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut was vested in the United States by the several deeds of cession.

Congress now proceeded to perfect its title to the soil and jurisdiction by negotiation with the Indian tribes — the original owners and rightful proprietors — notwithstanding charters and grants and treaties of peace. The Indian title to a large part of the territory within the limits of the State of Ohio having been extinguished it became necessary for Congress to provide a form of government for the territory northwest of the Ohio river. This led to the adoption of the ordinance of 1787.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR APPOINTED GOVERNOR.

Arthur St. Clair, an officer in the old French war, a Major General in the army of the revolution and President of the Continental Congress, was appointed Governor of the North Western Territory in 1788, with Winthrop Sergeant as Secretary, and who also acted as Chief Magistrate in the absence of the Governor. When St. Clair came to the territory in July, 1788, the tribes on the Wabash were decidedly hostile. They continued to invade the Kentucky settlements, while George Rogers Clark, at the head of the Kentucky Volunteers, in return, destroyed their villages and waged a relentless warfare against them. Immigration was retarded by the fear of the tomahawk and the scalping knife.

THE REGULAR ARMY AND THE INDIAN TRIBES.

At the close of the revolution the "regular army" had been reduced to less than seven hundred men, and no officer was retained above the rank of captain. This force was soon after reduced to twenty-five men to guard the mighty stores at Pittsburg, and fifty-five men to perform military duty at West Point and other magazines.

It was estimated that all the tribes in the territory at this time numbered twenty thousand souls. They were continually inflamed by British emissaries and agents and a feeling of hostility enkindled. These emissaries and agents made their headquarters at the frontier forts which had not been given up by Great Britain according to the terms of the treaty with the United States. The military force of the territory consisted of about six hundred men under the command of General Harmar who had been appointed a Brigadier General on the 31st day of July, 1787.

In the early part of 1789 Governor St. Clair held a council at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, with the Chiefs and Sachems of the Six Nations, and with the representatives of the Indian tribes from the Mohawk Valley to the Wabash, when old agreements were confirmed and boundaries established. Many of the tribes refused to acknowledge the Treaty as binding, and within a short period after the Council at Fort Harmar bands of maurading Indians threatened the frontiers of Virginia and Kentucky.

PERMANENT PEACE WITH THE INDIANS IMPOSSIBLE.

It became evident that permanent peace with the Indians was an impossibility. They waylaid the boats and wounded and plundered the immigrants all along the river from Pittsburg to the Falls of the Ohio. General Harmar endeavored to chastise them, but his expedition was a disaster, and his command defeated at the Maumee Ford in October, 1790.

The Federal Government proclaimed that the occupation of the territory meant peace and friendship and not war and bloodshed. These appeals were only answered by renewed depre-

dations on the part of the Indians, who were largely instigated by the infamous Simon Girty — a renegade white man, at the mention of whose name for more than twenty years the women and children of the Ohio country turned pale.

The tribes of the West under Little Turtle, Chief of the Miamis, Blue Jacket, Chief of the Shawnees, and Buck-onga-a-helos, Chief of the Delawares, now confederated to resist the whites and drive them, if possible, beyond the Ohio river which the Indians regarded as the boundary of their territory. Corn-planter, a famous Chief, at the table of General Wayne, at Legion-ville, in 1793, said, "My mind is upon that river," pointing to the Ohio, "May that water ever continue to run and remain the boundary of lasting peace between the Americans and Indians on the opposite side."

THE EXPEDITIONS OF HARMAR AND SCOTT AND WILKINSON.

The expeditions of Harmar and Scott and Wilkinson were directed against the Miamis and Shawnees, while the burning of their towns, the destruction of their corn-fields and the captivity of their women and children only seemed to exasperate them and aroused more desperate efforts to defend their hunting grounds and to harass the invaders. In the meantime preparations were going forward for the main expedition of St. Clair, the purpose of which was to secure control over the savages by establishing a chain of forts from the Ohio river to Lake Erie and especially by securing a strong position in the heart of the Miami country. The defeat of Harmar proved the necessity of some strong check upon the Indians of the North West.

THE CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Indeed the main object of the campaign of 1791 was to build a fort at the junction of the St. Mary and the St. Joseph's Rivers which was to be connected by other intermediate stations with Fort Washington and the Ohio. The importance of this position was recognized in a letter of General Knox, Secretary of War, to St. Clair, dated September 12, 1790, and the Secretary of War in his official report of St. Clair's defeat, dated December

26, 1791, says, "that the great object of the late campaign was to establish a strong military post at the Miami Village—Maumee at the Junction of the Joseph and the St. Mary." This object, too, was to be attained, if possible, even at the expense of a contest which otherwise he avoided.

The Secretary of War, under the authority and direction of President Washington, issued full and complete instructions to General St. Clair for the conduct of the campaign. It was declared to be the policy of the general government to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian Tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States; but if lenient measures should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it would then be necessary to use all coercive measures to accomplish the result.

General St. Clair was informed that by an Act of Congress, passed September 2, 1790, another regiment was to be raised and added to the military establishment and provision made for raising two thousand levies for the term of six months for the service of the frontiers. It was contemplated that the mass of regulars and volunteers should be recruited and *rendezvous* at Fort Washington by the 10th of July following, so that there would be a force of three thousand "effectives" at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, for the main expedition.

GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT AND THE KENTUCKY MILITIA.

In order to prevent the Indians from spreading themselves along the line of the frontiers, in the event of the refusal of peace, Brigadier General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, was authorized to make an expedition against the Wea or Oniatenon towns, with mounted volunteers, or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included.

In his advance to the Miami Village St. Clair was directed to establish such posts of communication with Fort Washington on the Ohio, as should be deemed proper, while the post at the confluence of the St. Mary and the St. Joseph was intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It was necessary that it should be made secure against all attempts and insults of

the Indians. The garrison to be stationed there was not only to be sufficient for the defense of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions.

FRIENDLY INDIANS EMPLOYED.

It was left to the discretion of the Commanding General to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other Southern Nations, with the suggestion that probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet or able chief, might be advantageous. There was a caution that they ought not to be assembled before the line of march was taken up, for the reason that they soon became tired and would not be detained.

The Secretary of War presumed that disciplined valor would triumph over the undisciplined Indian. In that event the Indians would sue for peace, and the dignity of the United States Government required that the terms should be liberal. In order to avoid future war it was thought proper to make the Wabash, and thence over to the Miami—the Maumee—and down the same to its mouth at Lake Erie, the boundary, except so far as the same might relate to the Wyandots and the Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to their treaties. But if these tribes should join in war against the United States they should be removed beyond this boundary.

THE BOUNDARIES TO BE ESTABLISHED.

There was also a discretion given to General St. Clair to extend the boundary from the mouth of the river Au Panse of the Wabash in a due West line to the Mississippi, since but few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such line, but there was an admonition that the whole matter should be tenderly managed. The policy of the United States dictated peace with the Indians, for peace was of more value than millions of uncultivated acres.

JEALOUSY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

It was thought possible that the establishment of a post at the Miami Village might be regarded by the British officers on the frontier as a circumstance of jealousy. It was suggested, therefore, that such intimations should be made at the proper time, as would remove all such dispositions. It was the judgment of the Secretary of War that such intimations should rather follow than precede the possession of the post.

THE FEELING TOWARD GREAT BRITAIN.

It is interesting—after the lapse of one hundred years—to know the feeling entertained by the Federal Government toward Great Britain in the campaign of the North Western territory. Within twenty-one years after the defeat of St. Clair on this fatal field there was a formal declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain, and within twenty-one years General Harrison heard the thunder of Perry's guns as they proclaimed that the American arms had undisputed possession of Lake Erie.

In the very instructions to which we have alluded it was declared that it was neither the inclination nor the interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, and that every measure tending to any discussion or altercation should be prevented. General Knox said, "The delicate situation, therefore, of affairs, may render it improper, at present to make any naval arrangements upon Lake Erie. After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami Village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such high trust you will return to Fort Washington on the Ohio."

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF THE FRONTIER.

"It is proper to observe," continued the Secretary of War, "that certain jealousies have existed among the people of the frontiers relative to a supposed interference between their interest,

and those of the marine States; that these jealousies are ill founded with respect to the present government is obvious. The United States embrace, with equal care, all parts of the Union and, in the present case, are making expensive arrangements for the protection of the frontier, and partly in the modes, too, which appear to be highly favored by the Kentucky people. The high station you fill as Commander-in-Chief of the troops and Governor of the Northwestern Territory, will afford you pregnant opportunities to impress the frontier citizen of the entire good disposition of the general government toward them in all reasonable things, and you will render acceptable service by cordially embracing all such opportunities."

ORGANIZATION OF ST. CLAIR'S ARMY.

General St. Clair proceeded to organize his army under these instructions. He was in Pittsburg in the following April, toward which point horses and stores and ammunition were going forward. On the 15th of May St. Clair reached Ft. Washington (now Cincinnati) and at that time, the United States troops in the West amounted to but two hundred and sixty-four non commissioned officers and privates fit for duty. On the 15th of July the first regiment, containing two hundred and ninety-nine men reached Fort Washington.

General Richard Butler — who fell in the engagement and for whom Butler County was named — was appointed second in command, and during the months of April and May was engaged in obtaining recruits, but when obtained there was no money to pay them, nor to provide stores for them. There was great inefficiency in the quartermaster's department. Tents, pack saddles, kettles, knapsacks and cartridge boxes were all deficient both in quantity and quality. The powder was poor or injured, the arms and accoutrements out of repair and not even proper tools to mend them. Of six hundred and sixty-five stand of arms at Fort Washington, designed by St. Clair for the militia, scarcely any were in order; and with two traveling forges furnished by the Quartermaster, there were no anvils. The troops gathered slowly at Fort Washington, and there were vexatious detentions at Pittsburg and upon the river. Intemperance prevailed to

a great extent. St. Clair then ordered the soldiers removed, now numbering two thousand men, to Ludlow Station, about six miles from the fort.

THE MARCH IN THE WILDERNESS.

The army continued here until September 17, 1791, when, being two thousand three hundred strong, moved forward to a point on the Great Miami river when Fort Hamilton was built, the first in the chain of fortresses.

On the 13th of September General St. Clair reconnoitred the country and selected the ground to erect another fort for the purpose of a deposit. Two hundred men were employed the following day under the direction of Major Ferguson, at the new fort. This was the second in the chain of fortifications and was called Fort Jefferson. The army took up the line of march on the morning of the 24th and pursued an old Indian path leading north through a fine open woods, and, after advancing six miles encamped along the bank of a creek with a large prairie on the left. This camp was afterwards called Fort Greenville by General Wayne, and marks the site of the town of Greenville.

On the 3rd day of November the army encamped on pleasant dry ground, on the bank of a creek about twenty yards wide, said to be the Pickaway fork of the Omee, but known since to be a branch of the Wabash. This was ninety-eight miles from Fort Washington. It was later than usual when the army reached the ground that evening, and the fatigue of the men prevented the general from having some works of defense immediately erected. Major Ferguson, commanding officer of the artillery, was sent for and a plan agreed upon for work to commence early next morning. Indeed it was the intention of St. Clair to leave the heavy baggage at the place and move on with the army to the Miami Village. The high dry ground was barely sufficient to encamp the army so that the lines were contracted. The front line was parallel with the creek, which was about twenty yards wide. There was low wet ground on both flanks, and along most of the rear. The militia advanced across the creek about three hundred yards. The frequent firing of the sentinels through the night had disturbed the camp, and

excited some concern among the officers, while guards had reported the Indians skulking about in considerable numbers. At ten o'clock at night General Butler, who commanded the right wing, was directed to send out an intelligent officer and party for information. There was much bitter controversy on this subject afterwards. An aid-de-camp to General St. Clair states that he saw Captain Slough, with two subalterns and thirty men parade at General Butler's tent for that purpose, and heard General Butler give Captain Slough very particular orders how to proceed. The aid-de-camp with two or three officers, remained with General Butler until a late hour, and then returned to the Commander-in-Chief, who was unable to be up and whose tent was at some distance on the left. General St. Clair had been indisposed for some days past with what at times appeared to be "a billious colic, sometimes a rheumatic asthma, and at other times symptoms of the gout."

THE STORY OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

In the Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, an officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars, and an aid-de-camp to General St. Clair, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, will be found, perhaps, the best account of the engagement itself.

A light fall of snow lay upon the ground — so light that it appeared like hoar frost. On a piece of rising ground, timbered with oak, ash and hickory, the encampment was spread with a fordable stream in front. The army lay in two lines, 70 yards apart, with 4 pieces of cannon in the center of each. Across the stream, and beyond a rich bottom land 300 yards in width, as an elevated plain, covered with an open front of stately trees. There the militia, three hundred and fifty independent, half-insubordinate men, under Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, of Kentucky, were encamped.

The troops paraded on the morning of the fourth of November, 1791, at the usual time. They had been dismissed from the lines but a few minutes, and the sun had hardly risen, when the woods in front resounded with the fire and yells of the savages. The volunteers who were but three hundred yards in front had

scarcely time to return a shot before they fled into the camp of the enemy. The troops were under arms in an instant, and a brisk fire from the front line met the enemy. The Indians from the front filed off to the right and left and completely surrounded the camp, and, as a result, cut off nearly all the guards and approaches close to the lines. The savages advanced from one tree, log, or stump to another under cover of the smoke of the guns of the advancing army. The artillery and musketry made a tremendous noise, but did but little execution. The Indians braved everything, and when the army of St. Clair was encompassed they kept up a constant fire which told with fatal effect, although scarcely heard. The left flank, probably from the nature of the ground, gave way first. The enemy got possession of that part of the encampment but were soon repulsed because the ground was very open and exposed.

General St. Clair was engaged at that time toward the right. He led in person the party that drove the enemy and regained the ground on the left.

The battalions in the rear charged several times and forced the enemy from the shelter, but the Indians always turned and fired upon their backs. The savages feared nothing from the Federal troops. They disappeared from the reach of the bayonet and then appeared as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge. The ground was literally covered with the dead and dying. The wounded were taken to the centre where it was thought most safe, and where a great many had crowded together after they had quitted the posts. The general, with other officers, endeavored to rally these men, and twice they were taken out to the lines. The officers seemed to be singled out and a great proportion fell or retired from wounds early in the action.

The men, being thus left with few officers, became fearful, and, despairing of success, gave up the battle. To save themselves they abandoned their ground, and crowded in toward the centre of the field. They seemed perfectly ungovernable, and no effort could again place them in order for an attack.

The Indians at length secured the artillery, but not until the

officers were all killed, save one, and that officer badly wounded. The men were almost all cut off and the pieces spiked. As the lines of St. Clair's army were gradually deserted the lines of the Indians were contracted. The shots then centered, and with deliberate aim the execution was fearful. There was, too, a cross-fire, and officers and men fell in every direction. The distress and cries of the wounded were fearful. A few minutes later and a retreat would have been impossible. The only hope was that the savages would be so taken up with the camp as not to follow the retreating army. Delay was death. There was no opportunity for preparation. Numbers of brave men must be left on the field as a sacrifice. There was no alternative but retreat. It was after nine o'clock when repeated orders had been given to retreat. The action had continued between two and three hours. Both officers and men were incapable of doing anything. No one was aroused to action until a retreat was ordered. Then a few officers advanced to the front and the men followed. The enemy then temporarily gave way because there was no suspicion of the retreat. The stoutest and most active now took lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the lines of the enemy were soon left in the rear.

THE RETREAT OF THE ARMY.

When the day was lost one of the pack-horses was procured for General St. Clair. The general delayed to see the rear. This movement was soon discovered by the enemy and the Indians followed for not more than four or five miles. They soon returned to share the spoils of the battle field. Soon after the firing ceased an order was given to an officer to gain the front and, if possible, to cause a halt that the rear might reach the army. A short halt was caused, but the men grew impatient and would move forward. By this time the remainder of the army was somewhat compact, but in the most miserable and defenseless state. The wounded left their arms on the field, and one-half the others threw them away on the retreat. The road for miles was covered with fire-locks, cartridge boxes and regimentals. It was most fortunate that the pursuit was discontinued for a

single Indian might have followed with safety on either flank. Such a panic had seized the men that they were ungovernable.

In the afternoon a detachment of the first regiment met the retreating army. This regiment, the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army, had been ordered back upon the road the 31st of October. They were thirty miles from the battle ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon, were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia who informed Major Hamtramck, the commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The major judged it best to send a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of the situation, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson, eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. Stragglers continued to come in for hours after the main army had reached the fort.

The remnant of the army, with the first regiment, was now at Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the field of action, without provisions, and the former without having eaten anything for twenty-four hours. A convoy was known to be upon the road, and within a day's march. The general determined to move with the first regiment and all the levies able to march. Those of the wounded and others unable to go on, were lodged as comfortably as possible within the fort. The army set out a little after ten o'clock that night and reached Fort Hamilton on the afternoon of the 6th, the general having reached there in the morning. On the afternoon of the 8th the army reached Fort Washington.

GALLANTRY OF ST. CLAIR.

St. Clair behaved gallantly during the dreadful scene. He was so tortured with gout that he could not mount a horse without assistance. He was not in uniform. His chief covering was a coarse crappo coat, and a three cocked hat from under which his white hair was seen streaming as he and Butler rode up and down the line during the battle. He had three horses killed under him. Eight balls passed through his clothes. He finally mounted a pack-horse, and upon this animal, which could with difficulty be spurred into a trot, he followed the retreat.

That evening Adjutant General Sargent wrote in his diary, "The troops have all been defeated and though it is impossible at this time to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than one-half the army are either killed or wounded."

Atwater in his History of Ohio says that there were in the army, at the commencement of the action, about two hundred and fifty women, of whom fifty-six were killed in the battle, and the remainder were made prisoners by the enemy, except a small number who reached Fort Washington.

THE CAUSE OF THE DEFEAT.

The true causes of the disaster have been the subject of much controversy. The Committee of the House of Representatives, as stated in the American State Papers (Vol. XII, 38) exonerated St. Clair from all blame in relation to everything before and during the action.

The real reasons were doubtless the surprise of the army and the consequent confusion and plight of the militia who were first attacked. The militia, as St. Clair says, were a quarter of a mile in advance of the main army, and beyond the creek; still further in advance was Captain Slough, who, with volunteer party of regulars sent to reconnoitre; and orders had been given to Colonel Oldham, who commanded the militia, to have the woods thoroughly examined by the scouts and patrols as Indians were discovered hanging about the outskirts of the army. The want of discipline and inexperience of the troops, doubtless, contributed to the result. The battle began at six o'clock in the morning and lasted until about half past nine. They were not overwhelmed, as St. Clair supposed, by superior numbers. The Indians, according to the best accounts, did not exceed one thousand warriors. They fought, however, with desperate valor, and at a great advantage from the nature of the ground and from the facilities the forest afforded for their favorite mode of attack. They were led, too, by the greatest chieftain of that age. It has been the received opinion that the leader of the confederated tribes on that fatal day was Little Turtle, the Chief of the Miamis; but from the family of that celebrated warrior and

statesman, it is ascertained that Joseph Brandt (Stone's Brandt, II, p. 313) with one hundred and fifty Mohawk braves were present and commanded the warriors of the Wilderness. Colonel John Johnston, long the Indian Agent, thinks that the number of the Indians could not have been less than two thousand men, but this estimate is not accepted as accurate. General Harmar not only refused to join the expedition, but the relations between St. Clair and Butler were not of the most cordial character. It is evident from the events connected with the campaign, as well as from his subsequent career as Governor of the North Western Territory, that St. Clair was dictatorial in manner and spirit.

THE EFFECT OF THE DEFEAT.

The battle which took place here on that eventful day in November, 1791, seems to pale before the mighty achievements of the late civil war when great armies were picked up on the banks of the Potomac and dropped on the banks of the Cumberland and the Tennessee, and when the shouts of more than a million of men, mingled with the roar of the Atlantic and Pacific as they passed onward in the ranks of war. The defeat of St. Clair was the most terrible reverse the American arms ever suffered from the Indians. Even the defeat of Braddock's army was less disastrous. Braddock's army consisted of twelve hundred men and eighty-six officers, of whom seven hundred and fourteen men and sixty-three officers were killed and wounded. St. Clair's army consisted of fourteen hundred men and eighty-six officers, of whom thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates were killed and missing, and thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates wounded. It is true that when the army advanced from Fort Jefferson it numbered about two thousand men, but discharges and desertions reduced the effective strength on the day of action to only about fourteen hundred men. The second regiment had but one battalion with the army. It was well appointed, but inexperienced. The officers and men, however, did their whole duty; they, with the battalion of artillery, were nearly all cut off.

Bancroft, in speaking of Braddock's defeat, says that the forest field of battle was left thickly strewn with the wounded and

the dead. Never had there been such a harvest of scalps. As evening approached, the woods around Fort Du Quesne rung with the halloos of the red men; the constant firing of small arms, mingled with the peal of cannon from the Fort. The next day the British artillery was brought in, and the Indian warriors, painting their skin a shining vermilion, with patches of black and brown and blue, gloried in the laced hats and bright apparel of the English officers. This language, but for the British artillery and the English officers, would be descriptive of the field.

ALARM IN PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA.

The people of the Western Counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia memorialized their Governors for protection. "In consequence of the late intelligence of the fate of the campaign to the Westward," says a committee of the citizens of Pittsburg, "the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg have convened and appointed us a committee for the purpose of addressing your Excellency. The late disaster to the army must greatly affect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but that the enemy will now come forward and with more spirit and greater confidence than they ever did before, for success will give confidence and secure allies."

"The alarming intelligence lately received," said the people of the Western portion of Virginia, "of the defeat of the army of the Western country, fills our minds with dreadful fear and apprehension concerning the safety of our fellow citizens in the country we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse for your Excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties for the request we are compelled to make."

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT NOT SO DISASTROUS AS THAT OF ST. CLAIR.

But the comparative losses of the two engagements, says a writer in the Western Annals, represents very inadequately the crushing effect of the defeat of St. Clair. An unprotected frontier of a thousand miles, from the Allegheny to the Mississippi, was at once thrown open to the attack of the infuriated and victorious savages. The peace enjoyed for the several preced-

ing years had wrought a great change in the western settlements. The Indian hunters of the Revolutionary war had laid aside their arms and their habits and devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil; the block houses and forts around which the first settlers had gathered were abandoned, and cabins, clearings and hamlets instead were scattered in exposed situations all along the border. Everywhere the settlers unprotected and unprepared, were expecting in terror the approach of the savages, and everywhere abandoning their homes, or awaiting in helpless despair the burnings, massacres and cruelties of Indian wars.

THE DISSENSION IN ST. CLAIR'S ARMY.

General Harmar was at Fort Washington in September, 1791, to solicit a court of inquiry to examine into misconduct in the last campaign. The court was orderd — with General Richard Butler as President — and a report was made highly honorble to General Harmar. He was then determined to quit the service and positively refused to take any command in the campaign of St. Clair. He conversed frequently and freely with a few of his friends on the probable results of the campaign and predicted defeat. He suspected a disposition in Major Denny to resign but discouraged the idea. "You must," said he, "go in the campaign; some will escape, and you may be among the number." It was a matter of astonishment to General Harmar, who had experience in fighting the Indians, that General St. Clair, who had an excellent military reputation, should think of hazarding that reputation and even his life, and the lives of so many others, with an army so completely undisciplined, and with the officers so totally unacquainted with Indian warfare, and with not a department sufficiently prepared. There, too, was an absolute ignorance of the collected force and situation of the enemy. Indeed the scouts who left camp on the 29th of October under command of Captain Sparks, and composed chiefly of friendly Indians, missed the enemy altogether and knew nothing of the battle, and but for an Indian runner whom they met after the engagement would probably have all been captured. It was unfortunate, too, that both the general officers had been disabled by sickness.

CLAMOR AGAINST ST. CLAIR.

The popular clamor against St. Clair was loud and deep. He had suffered a great reverse and was, therefore, accused by the public voice of great incompetence. He asked from the President the appointment of a court of inquiry, but the request was denied because there were not officers enough in the service of the proper rank to constitute such a court. He then offered to resign his commission on condition that his conduct should be investigated, but the exigencies of the service would not permit of the delay, and his request was again refused.

Governor St. Clair continued to exercise the office of Governor of the territory until 1802, and to the last, says Marshall in his life of Washington, retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of Washington.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES AND ST. CLAIR.

In a letter to Jonathan Dayton from John Cleves Symmes, dated North Bend, August 15, 1791, the writer says that nothing is known when the present army is to be put into motion. They are encamped at the Ludlow Station, five miles from Fort Washington, on account of better food for the cattle, of which they have near one thousand head from Kentucky. Many and important are the preparations to be made previous to their general movement. Not long since I made General St. Clair a tender of my services on the expedition. He replied, "I am very willing that you should go, sir, but, by God, you do not go as a Dutch deputy." I answered that I did not recollect the anecdote of the Dutch deputation to which he alluded. His Excellency replied: "The Dutch, in some of the wars, sent forth an army under the command of a general officer, but appointed a deputation of burghers to attend the general to the war, that they might advise him when to fight and when to decline." I inferred from this that I should be considered by him rather as a spy upon his conduct than otherwise, and therefore do not intend to go, though I should have been happy to have seen the country between this and Sandusky.

It is needless to add that had Judge Symmes accompanied the army his opportunity for observing the country in the neighborhood of Fort Recovery would have been too limited for any practical use.

THE DEATH OF ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

"In May, 1815," says a writer, "four of us called on Arthur St. Clair on the top of Chestnut Ridge, eastwardly eight or ten miles from Greensburg, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. We were travelling on horseback to Connecticut, and being informed that he kept tavern, we decided to call for entertainment for the night. We alighted at his residence late in the afternoon, and on entering the log house saw an elderly, neat gentleman, dressed in black broad cloth, with stockings and small clothes, shining shoes, whose straps were secured by large silver buckles, his hair clubbed and powdered. On closing his book he arose and received us most kindly and gracefully, and pointing us to chairs he asked us to be seated. On being asked for entertainment, he said: 'Gentlemen, I perceive you are travelling and though I should be gratified by your custom, it is my duty to inform you I have no hay or grain. I have good pasture, but if hay and grain are essential, I cannot furnish them.' "

"There stood before us a Major General of the Revolution — the friend and confidant of Washington — late Governor of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, one of nature's noblemen, of high, dignified bearing, whom misfortune, nor the ingratitude of his country, nor poverty, could break down nor deprive of self-respect: keeping a tavern but could not furnish a bushel of oats nor a loch of hay. We were moved principally to call upon him to hear him converse about the men of the Revolution and of the North Western Territory, and our regret that he could not entertain us was greatly increased by hearing him converse about an hour. The large estate which he sacrificed for the cause of the Revolution was within a short distance of the top of Chestnut Ridge — if not in sight." He died on the thirty-first day of August, 1818, near Greensburgh, Pennsylvania, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. His best eulogist speaks of him as

an enemy to the Indian tribes in war, but more frequently their friend and counsellor in peace.

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD OF ST. CLAIR'S ARMY.

In January, 1792, General James Wilkinson, who then commanded at Fort Washington, made a call for volunteers to accompany an expedition to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, for the purpose of burying the dead. Ensign William Henry Harrison — afterwards President of the United States — was attached to one of the companies of the regular troops. The volunteers numbered more than two hundred and fifty mounted men, and two hundred regular soldiers from Fort Washington. They began the march on the 25th day of January, 1792, from Fort Washington and afterwards completed the organization by electing Captain John S. Gano as Major. They crossed the Big Miami on the ice, with horses and baggage, at Fort Hamilton, on the twenty-eighth day of January. The general in command issued an order at Fort Jefferson abandoning one of the objects of the campaign, which was a demonstration against an Indian town on the Wabash, not far distant from the battle ground of St. Clair. The regular soldiers, all on foot, returned to Fort Washington. The expedition reached the scene of disaster at eleven o'clock, but for a long distance along the road and in the woods, the bodies of the slain could be seen scalped, in many instances, and mutilated by the wild beasts.

It is said that the body of General Richard Butler was recognized where the carnage had been the thickest and among a group of the slain. The bodies were gathered together, and in the solitude of the forest, and amidst the gloom of winter, were given a last resting place.

THE DEAD OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

The field of honor is measured by the cause and the self-consecration. It may mean the field of defeat as well as the field of victory. It is the self-sacrifice which determines the reward.

It is not possible to call the list of the slain in any engagement. Many must be left to catch the tears of mothers and wives

and sisters shed in desolated homes and by vacated firesides. The officers who fell in the battle were Major General Butler, second in command; Major Ferguson, Captain Bradford, and Lieutenant Spear, of the artillery; Major Heart, Captain Phelon, Newman and Kirkwood, Lieutenant Warren and Ensign Cobb of the second regiment; Captains Van Swearingen, Tibton and Price, Lieutenants McMath and Boyd, Ensigns Wilson and Reeves, Brooks and Chase, Adjutant Burges and Doctor Grayson, of the first regiment of Levies. Captains Cribbs, Piatt, Smith and Purdy, Lieutenants Kelso and Lukens, Ensigns McMichle, Beatty and Purdy, and Adjutant Anderson of the second regiment of Levies. Lieutenant Colonel Gibson of the Bayonets died of his wounds at Fort Jefferson; and also Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, Captain Lemon, Lieutenant Briggs and Ensign Montgomery of the Kentucky Militia. General William Darke, for whom Darke county was named, was Lieutenant Colonel of the first Regiment of Levies and was wounded in the engagement. He died on the 20th day of November, 1801.

The death roll shows five hundred and ninety-three privates killed and missing in the engagement. They are dead on the field of honor.

THE DUTY OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The National Government is gathering together the remains of those who fell under the flag and reinterring them in cemeteries with appropriate memorials to commemorate their names and their deeds. A sacred duty to the dead of the battlefield will not have been discharged by the Federal Government until a stately shaft of magnificent proportions shall be erected to tell not only of that eventful day in November, but to teach the coming generations as well, by their example, when duty requires, to die for their country.

THE COUNTRY FOR WHICH THEY DIED.

We turn from the ashes of the heroic dead to contemplate, with a supreme affection, the country for which they died. One hundred years have passed since that day of disaster for the whole North Western Territory. It has been a century crowned

by the blessings of liberty and order and law. The gently flowing Wabash traverses almost a continent where the English tongue is the language of Freedom until its quiet waters mingle with the gulf. The harvests are peacefully gathered to their garners and the songs of home are uninvaded by the cries and terrors of battle. The principle of civil and religious liberty upon which five great Republics of the Northwest have erected their law and constitution is strong in the hearts of a people who breathed the inspiration of freedom from the very air of heaven and whose soil was never cursed by the unrequited toil of the bondman. We may well have faith in the greatness and permanence of our political creations and in unbroken unity, prophecy, unconquerable strength.

Talleyrand characterized the United States, in speaking to the Emperor Napoleon, as a giant without homes. If the diplomat were here today he would find the National sentiment stronger than at any period since the Revolution; nor will the pages of history show a more splendid example of self-sacrifice in vindication of National integrity than the late civil war. It is the crowning glory of the century, and a free people, having an abiding faith in the strength and permanency of their political institutions, may look forward with supreme confidence as they march onward under the guidance of Him who was with the fathers in the path to imperial greatness.

MAP OF COLLECT POND.

The picture of the boat in the left-hand corner is the one mentioned in the MS. Photographed by William G. Weatherup, 1899.

JOHN FITCH, INVENTOR OF STEAMBOATS.

BY MIRA CLARKE PARSONS.

In the closing year of this century of wonders, it is fitting that we should give a thought to the memory of the inventors and investigators to whom the world owes so vast a debt. Foremost among them must stand the names of the men who first utilized the tremendous forces of steam and electricity.

For generations every schoolboy has been taught that Robert Fulton was the inventor of the steamboat. That honor rightfully belongs to another from whom he received the ideas, which, by means of influential friends, he was afterwards able to develop.

The heading of the map illustrating this paper,* published by John Hutchings of New York, in 1846, reads as follows:

"The world is indebted to the *original idea* and mechanical genius of John Fitch of East Windsor, Conn., and the perseverance and indefatigable attention of Robert Fulton, Esq., for the use of steam, and to the wealth, and exalted and estimable character of Robert D. Livingston, Esq., Chancellor of the State of New York, and American Minister to France."

Twenty-one years before the whistle of Fulton's steamboat, the "Clermont", startled the echoes among the hills which guard the Hudson, John Fitch had made a more successful experiment upon the waters of the Delaware river, upon which he propelled three steamboats of his own invention, from 1786 to 1789.

In the summer of 1849, when the 'cholera scare" almost depopulated the city of Columbus, Ohio, a family of children were sent to the adjoining town of Worthington, to spend the summer with their grandfather, Colonel James Kilbourne, who kept a hotel there, and was one of the early and honored settlers of the town. One rainy day, the boys in exploring the garret, came across a strange object bearing resemblance to a steamboat. It was three feet in length, having the solid wheels and upright cylinder of steam conveyances of the present day. The working

* This map is now in the possession of I. N. Whiting, of Columbus.

machinery was of brass, and it seemed designed to run upon a submerged track.

Full of wonder, the boys questioned their grandfather about it, who told them the principal facts in the following paper. To one of these boys, Hon. Isaac N. Whiting, of Columbus, now an elderly man, the writer is indebted for the story, supplemented by reliable information gained from biographies now in the Ohio State Library, and to the kindly interest of Dr. J. H. McQuown, of Bardstown, Kentucky.

John Fitch, whose daughter Lucy was the wife of Col. Kilbourne, was born at East Windsor, Conn., Jan. 21, 1743. He was the fifth in a family of six children. His parents, Joseph and Sarah Shaler Fitch, were of good old Saxon origin. It is said that their ancestors were entitled to "a coat of arms and a vellum of pedigree."*

His father was a stern, hard man, of the old New England type. His mother whom he describes as "an active, enterprising, good woman," died before the boy was five years old. He was taken from school when he was eight, and put to work on the farm, although he tells us in his autobiography, that he was so small that he could only swingle two pounds of flax, or thresh two bushels of wheat in a day.

He says that he was "almost crazy for learning," and we find him working evenings at Hodder's Arithmetic, until he got as far as Alligation Alternate. When he was eleven years old he heard of a book that "would tell him all about the whole world," — Salmon's Geography. The price was twelve shillings. He rented some unproductive land from his father, borrowed seed potatoes from him with which to plant it, tended his crop at odd moments and "training-days," (those red-letter holidays dear to the old-time New England youth,) harvested his crop in the fall, paid back the seed potatoes, and bought the book which he soon knew by heart.†

When he was thirteen he was allowed six weeks more of

* Whittlesev's Life of John Fitch, Sparks's American Biography, Vol. 16, page 98.

† See Whittlesey's Life of John Fitch, Sparks's American Biography, Vol. 16, page 94.

schooling, in which time he finished the arithmetic and learned the first principles of surveying. It was a proud day for the lad when Governor Wolcott, whose land joined his father's farm, invited him to assist in surveying it. This first and only practical knowledge of the science was afterwards used to good advantage in the wild lands of Kentucky.

His story is briefly outlined on this map as follows:

"First we find him a farmer's boy, next an apprentice to a watchmaker, then a store in Trenton, N. J., with a stock of guns and soldier's equipments, valued at five thousand dollars, all of which was destroyed when the British took Trenton, next a lieutenant in the American Army, then taken prisoner by the Indians, and sold by one tribe to another through the North West Territory, until he was purchased by an Englishman, and thus obtained his freedom. During this time he became acquainted with that part of the country, of which he made a map, and although printed upon a common cider-press, it had an extensive sale. He was next surveyor in Kentucky, then a civil engineer in Pennsylvania, and on the Delaware made his first experiment of a Steam-Boat with Paddles.

He then left America and traveled through France and England, but not meeting with the encouragement anticipated, became poor and returned home, working his pasage as a common sailor to Boston, from thence to his native town in Connecticut,, thence to New York where he remained some time, then back to Kentucky, where he died in 1798."

Some amplication of these statements is necessary. His marriage at twenty-four was an unhappy one, soon resulting in a separation, after which, for his whole life, John Fitch was a wanderer. But whether in a watchmaker's shop, or repairing arms for the American soldiers or with hand-made tools fashioning trinkets for the wives of his Indian captors, he was always and everywhere conceiving ideas which were afterwards to be born as the greatest invention of his age.

He never saw his wife after their separation, but always had a great interest in his two children, a son and daughter. The daughter became the wife of Col. Kilbourne, and it is believed

he gave her his cherished model of a steamboat, a photograph of which is now for the first time exhibited to the public.

While serving his time as a soldier at Valley Forge, he heard some officers from Virginia talk of the wonderfully fertile lands of Kentucky, and the need of a surveyor there. Returning to Warminster, Pa., he obtained the appointment of Deputy Surveyor for these wild lands. He accomplished the work successfully, his early experience serving him well in this capacity. He returned to Warminster, the owner of six hundred acres of choice land near the town of Bardstown in Nelson County, Ky. On a later trip to Kentucky to look after these lands, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, near Marietta, Ohio. He traveled twelve hundred miles on foot before he was redeemed.

The wonderful knowledge of his captors concerning every foot of ground which had felt the touch of their moccasin, he obtained by often questioning them on their journeys, and afterwards utilized in constructing a map which is said to have been surprisingly accurate. It covers the country from the Lake of the Woods to the mouth of the Ohio river.

On a later trip to Kentucky he found much of his land occupied by unauthorized settlers, and in litigation he lost a great part of it. In 1784 he drifted back to Warminster and took up his old trade of watchmaking.

* * * *

Walking home from church with a friend on Sabbath morning, in April 1785, a carriage passed them, drawn by two spirited horses. One biographer says:

"The idea, unfortunate for him but fortunate for the world, of gaining a force by steam, took possession of his thoughts, and from that time became the abiding passion of his soul."* His knowledge of the almost inaccessible lands he had surveyed, had made him understand what great value they would gain if a boat could be made to ascend the Mississippi and its tributaries. So, although the first thought was of making use of steam as a power for propelling land vehicles, the idea gave place in a few days to the utilization of it for boats.

* Whittlesey's Life of John Fitch, Sparks's American Biography, Vol. 16, pages 111–112.

He says in his autobiography, that he had then never heard of a steam engine. Although Watt had already applied stationary steam power to do the work of men in England, the unhappy state of affairs between the two countries, and the difficulty of communication, were sufficient reasons for ignorance of this fact, in the case of an uneducated man like John Fitch, whose veracity no one who knew him ever questioned. He says:

"From that time, (April, 1786) I have pursued the idea with unremitted assiduity. Yet do I frankly confess that it has been the most imprudent scheme that ever I have engaged in."*

In August of the same year, he laid his first petition before Congress, in these words:

"Sir:—The subscriber begs leave to lay at the feet of Congress an attempt he has made to facilitate the internal Navigation of the United States, adapted especially to the waters of the Mississippi. The Machine he has invented for the purpose has been examined by several gentlemen of Learning and Ingenuity, who have given it their approbation. Being thus encouraged, he is desirous to solicit the attention of Congress to a rough model of it now with him, that, after examination into the principles upon which it operates, they may be able to judge whether it deserves encouragement.

"And he, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"John Fitch.

"His Excellency, the President of Congress."

This petition was referred to a committee who never reported.

He next laid the matter before the ambassador of the King of Spain, who was then in New York, who would have given him assistance if the invention should be for the benefit of his Royal Master. The historian† says, "If he had accepted the offers of the Spanish Minister, he might have been rich." He refused, wishing his invention should be for the benefit of mankind.

He afterwards said.‡ "God forbid that I should ever be in the

* Westcott's Life of John Fitch (Lippincott & Co., Phila.), Chapter 10, pages 128–129.

† Westcott, Chapter 10, p. 130.

‡ In his autobiography, quoted by Westcott, Chapter 10, page 130.

like error again! The strange idea I had of serving my country, without the least suspicion that my only reward would be nothing but contempt and opprobrious names, has taught me a mighty lesson in mankind, — and to do it at the displeasure of the whole Spanish nation is one of the most unpolitical strokes that a Blockhead could be guilty of." In September of that year he presented a drawing of his boat and models to the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia. The model is said to be now in possession of the society, but the papers are missing.

He traveled through different states, going from one legislature to another, asking for help in his undertaking, but with no success, till Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, assisted him in forming a Company, and a subscription of forty shares at ten dollars a share, was filled up.

This money and the proceeds from the sale of his map, was the capital employed in the construction of the first steamboat.

It was impossible to obtain either workmen or machinery from England, and the undaunted man set himself to making his own machinery, with Henry Voight, "a plain Dutchman, who feared no man," as his superintendent.

The trial of the first ship moved by steam was successfully made July 26, 1786. The little nameless craft, moved by this strange new power upon the waters of the Delaware river, is with all her crudeness, rightfully entitled to be called "Mother of Steamboats," for she contained the embryonic principles which have been reproduced in every steamboat since that day."*

As an experiment she was a success, but needed improvements in many ways to render her of practical utility.

The power of granting patents was then unknown to Congress, but State monopolies were lawful, and New Jersey gave Fitch the right of employing steam as a means of navigation for fourteen years.

The company now resolved to build a new boat, of more

* There lies before us, as we write, a picture of the great battleship, Kentucky, the magnificent war ship, which, with the exception of her twin sister, the Kearsage, is the most powerful vessel in the United States Navy. She cost four million dollars. She is a lineal descendant of this first steamboat, with no reason to be ashamed of her parentage.

practical utility. The distress of the poor inventor, in being obliged to raise money from his friends, was terribly acute. He says:

"Could money have been extracted from my limbs, amputation would often have taken place." He "did not feel the insults of the populace, only as they were offered to his friends."* In every possible way he shared in full the ignominy suffered by every great discoverer.

Amid discouragement of all kinds the work went on, and in July, 1788, the second successful steamboat, aptly named the "Perseverance", was launched on the Delaware river, at a speed of four miles an hour. The next year, with new machinery, she was run as a regular passenger boat between Burlington and Philadelphia, as often advertised in the newspapers of that time, with a speed of seven, and sometimes eight miles an hour.

One biographer† says:

"The great problem, it was now thought, was demonstrated." John Fitch had provided his claim to be the inventor of the Steamboat.

At this junction, if a rich and powerful patron, — like Chancellor Livingston in Fulton's time, — could have been found, this story of a thwarted and wrecked life would never have needed to be told.

He obtained his patent in August, 1791, and the stockholders decided to build another larger boat, to be sent to Virginia, to obtain the benefit of the Virginia law, which secured exclusive right to the steamboat on Western waters, the Ohio and its tributaries. The bounds of Virginia then included Kentucky, Ohio, and the Northwestern Territory. If the plan could have matured, the greatest wish of Fitch's heart would have been realized, but the boat, though begun, was never finished. Under great discouragements, the faith and funds of the company failed together, and the inventor, to whom the whole scheme was "as clear as Euclid", at last abandoned the work. In his journal he tells of the indignities offered him when he was "in the midst of the most

* Autobiography quoted by Westcott, Ch. 12, p. 164.

† Westcott, Ch. 17, p. 284.

excruciating tortures of devising plans for completing his undertaking."

One biographer* says: "His few stout-hearted friends had rendered themselves subject to ridicule and derision, for their temerity and presumption in giving countenance to this wild projector and visionary madman.

The company gave up the ghost, the boat went to pieces, and Fitch became bankrupt and broken-hearted." We find these sadly prophetic words recorded in his journal:

"The day will come when some more powerful man will get fame and riches by my invention; but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention."

In 1795 the last act in the drama of the "Perseverance" was concluded by the sale "by Public Vendue, on Smith's Wharf, Philadelphia, between Race and Vine streets, a sixteen-inch cylinder steam engine, with machinery appertaining thereto."†

After this, Mr. Fitch devoted some time to writing his autobiography, and the history of his steamboat inventions. The manuscripts consist of six pasteboard-covered books, of the old-fashioned "cyphering book" style. They were sealed, and deposited in the Philadelphia library, not to be opened for thirty years. He gave as a reason for this requirement, that his son and daughter would by that time be "Marryed," and any conduct of his would not then "affect their temporal interests." They are addressed to "My children, and future generations."

These manuscripts were formally opened in February, 1828, an abstract made of their contents, as he had requested, and then again sealed and deposited in the library, where, the Actuary of Franklin Institute informs us, they still remain.

During these thirty years, the poor inventor's wildest dreams had been more than realized. He said: "The day will come when vessels propelled by steam will cross the ocean! And I almost venture to prophesy that the same power will be utilized in moving land vehicles!"

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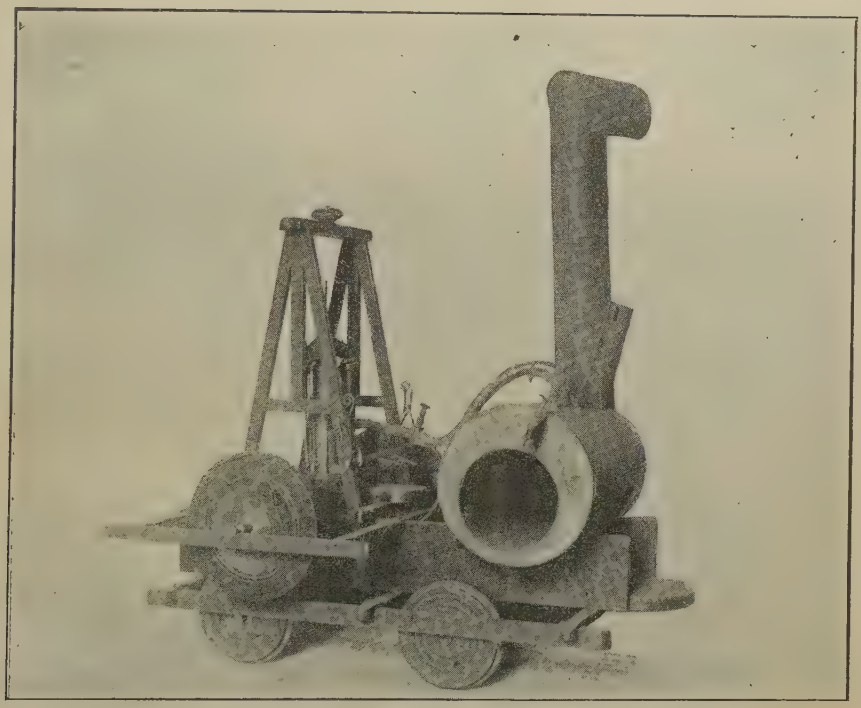
* Thomas P. Cope, in Hazard's Register (Penn.), p. 91, quoted by Westcott, Chapter 20, page 338.

† Bache's Aurora and General Advertiser, Aug. 18, 1795, quoted by Westcott, Chapter 20, page 348.



PHOTOGRAPH OF MODEL OF STEAMBOAT NOW IN POSSESSION OF I. N. WHITING, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Photographed by William G. Weatherup, 1899.

(The first steamer that ever crossed the Atlantic is said to have been the Savannah, an American vessel of three hundred and eighty tons, built in New York. The Sirius, an English steamer, made the voyage in 1838.)

Mr. Fitch sailed for France in 1793, to lay his cherished scheme before that country through Aaron Vail, United States Minister there, who had become greatly interested in it, and proposed that France should aid in perfecting the invention and receive the benefits of it. But the revolutionary state of things there made this impossible.

Leaving his valuable papers and models in the hands of Mr. Vail, he returned to America in a state of utter destitution, working his passage to Boston.

Robert Fulton was then in Paris. Mr. Vail afterwards acknowledged that he lent him "all the papers, drawings, and specifications of John Fitch, which he retained for some months."* He had time to assimilate their contents, to be made use of afterwards.

When a lad he had known Fitch, who was twenty-two years his senior, and he was quick-witted enough to profit by the suggestions and experiments of the elder man, although never giving him credit for them. The time of his return to New York is not certainly known by Fitch's biographers, but he was a passenger on the little boat which made its trips around Collect Pond, as we shall see.

After his return to this country, Mr. Fitch visited his sister and his daughter, Lucy, in Connecticut, spending some time with them. He then went to New York, and it is thought that he received assistance from Robert R. Livingston (who was even then interested in experiments in steam navigation) in building a small boat for trial.

John Hutchings makes affidavit on the map here represented, that in the summer of 1796 or 1797, he helped to steer a boat built by Mr. Fitch, and propelled by steam power upon Collect Pond, a "section of New York afterwards occupied in part by "The Tombs." "It was then, as history tells us, "a large pond of fresh water." The map is a curiosity now.

* Westcott, Chapter 20, page 348.

John Hutchings tells us:

"At that time Robert R. Livingston, esq., and Robert Fulton, with Mr. Fitch and myself, worked or passed several times around the pond on different occasions, while Mr. Fitch explained to Mr. Livingston and Mr. Fulton the *modus operandi* of the machinery, Mr. Fitch having a patent for his invention from the State of New York."

He records some of the conversation between Fitch and Fulton, showing them in the attitude of teacher and pupil. The boat and its machinery are accurately described, and the four persons on board designated by figures.

He goes on to say:

"If his country had furnished John Fitch the necessary means we should have been blessed with steam navigation ten or fifteen years before we were."

His statements are corroborated by the testimony of the highest officials then in New York. The boat and its machinery were abandoned, and left to decay on the muddy shore of Collect Pond. It was carried away, piece by piece, by the children of the neighborhood for fuel.

That autumn, Mr. Fitch left New York for Kentucky,—again quoting John Hutchings—"having made his last successful effort in this glorious enterprise of Steam Navigation."

* * * *

The rest of his story is soon told. He established himself in the tavern of Alexander McCown, in Bardstown, the county seat of Nelson county, where the remainder of his life was passed. He told his host that he neither expected nor desired to live very long, and executed a bond, conveying to him the remnant of land left him there, after long litigation with the settlers who had taken possession of it. Mr. McCown said, "It was the constant burden of his conversation, that he should descend to his grave penniless, but should leave in his discoveries, a legacy to his country that should make her rich."*

He had hoped to interest the Kentuckians in his invention,

* Quoted by Westcott (Chapter 21, page 364) from a letter written by Hon. Robert Wickliffe, of Kentucky.

but in vain. As his health failed, he worked at intervals upon his last model, a steamboat three feet in length, with wheels and brass machinery, which was often seen floating in a small stream near the village.

On July 1, 1798, this weary and disappointed man left the world which had never smiled upon him, honestly believing to the last in the final fulfillment of his dreams. His fast friend, Alexander McCown, assisted by two others, with their own hands laid him in his grave. A relative of the McCown family† has kindly furnished the writer with the last information we have concerning John Fitch. He says: "His grave was never marked by wood, marble or stone, until October, 1854, when three of the citizens of Bardstown located it, and placed two small pieces of marble or rock, as head and foot stones to it. It can now be located by these two stones, and by the records in the county clerk's office. These men are all dead. The stones are too rough for lettering."

From the same source we learn that Robert Fulton took one model from the tavern, soon after Fitch's death.

It was a cherished wish of this lonely man, that he might be buried upon the banks of the Ohio river, "where the song of the boatman might penetrate the stillness of his resting place, and the sound of the steam engine might send, its echoes abroad."* But the wish was not realized.

Nothing now remains to perpetuate the memory of the inventor of the first steamboat, save the model here represented. Which of the four it is, which are mentioned in the autobiography, the present owner cannot certainly tell. He was a young lad when it came into the hands of his father, Isaac N. Whiting, Sr., who, in 1854, lent it to James H. McCord, United States Inspector for the port of St. Louis. There was at that time much curious speculation about it and it was examined by machinists of note.

The St. Louis Democrat, in October, 1854, published a description of it, a part of which we give. It is called "the original

† John H. McQuown, M. D., Bardstown, Ky.

* A paraphrase of his own words, as quoted by John F. Watson, Germantown, Pa. (Westcott, Ch. 24, p. 415).

model of the engine and boiler constructed by John Fitch about the year 1790, and by him applied to the propelling of boats," and goes on to say:

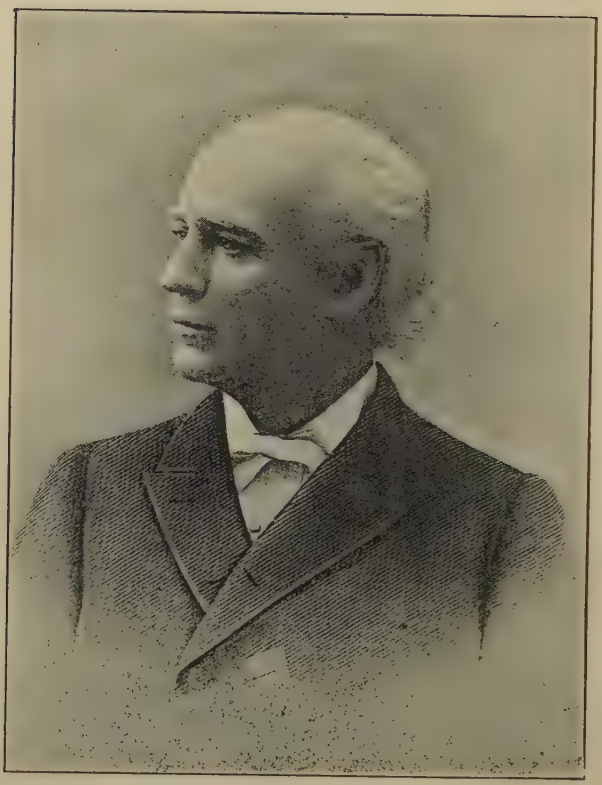
"It rests on a model railway car constructed by him, embracing all the essential requisites of the present railway car, such as a flange on the rim, just as we have it now, used for a guide to keep the wheels on the track, also the framework outside the wheels, as our cars were at first constructed. It was evidently thus arranged for the purpose of exhibiting the power of steam in propelling boats, and was constructed on a railway immersed in a trough of the proper depth for the paddles to strike the water, and when the motion was given, the wheels would guide it along the submerged railway. * * * There is no doubt of the identity of the *original model* upon which the great mind of Fitch expended its energies, the result of whose labors was the application of the wonderful agent, steam, to practical purposes."

With the exception of this little journey in the world, the strange relic has remained for more than a hundred years silent and still in a dim garret. From time to time those interested in this true story have planned to remove the ashes contained in the obscure grave to a location such as its tenant would have chosen. But the plans have thus far been barren of results.

More than fifty years ago, a number of Kentucky gentlemen promised they would have the remains deposited under a monument on the margin of the Ohio river, below Louisville, but the promise was never kept.

Westcott, in the preface to his biography, written in 1857, makes a strong appeal to a new generation to "do justice to the memory of one whose power has been long obscured by an usurped credit, improperly allowed to another."

Can our country afford longer to ignore this man's claims on the present age? Is not the closing year of this century a fitting time to build a monument to the memory of one to whom it owes so great a debt?



PROFESSOR EDWARD ORTON.

PROFESSOR EDWARD ORTON.*

1829 — 1899.

A MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

By Washington Gladden.

The genealogical history of "The Orton Family in America," a book of which Dr. Edward Orton was the author, begins with this paragraph:

"The surname Orton is neither a common nor an unusual one. It is a name that could be heard without surprise in any community of English descent. It occurs in the directories of many cities of the country and can probably be found in many towns of the United States that have a population of 100,000 or more; but the list of Ortons is generally confined to a few individuals, and in many cases there is but a single family."

The name is found in Denmark, and Norway: there is at least one Norwegian family in Minnesota who brought the name from the Scandinavian peninsula. But it is more common in England; several localities in Leicestershire bear the name of the family; and since the larger number of the earliest settlers of New England came from the central and eastern portions of Old England it is fair to assume that Thomas Orton who settled in Windsor, Conn. between 1636 and 1641, belonged to the

Edward Orton became a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society soon after its organization. He gave it much of his valuable time and took a deep and unremitting interest in its work and progress. He delivered many addresses at its meetings, and added much to its published literature. The officers and trustees of the Society freely counseled with him concerning the work entrusted to them. The secretary was often greatly indebted to Dr. Orton for suggestion and encouragement. A few weeks previous to his death Dr. Orton was elected a trustee of the Society, a position which had been many times offered him before. While characteristically disclaiming great learning in archæology, Dr. Orton nevertheless was regarded as a scholar of high authority in that subject. — E. O. R.

Leicestershire Ortons. That old town of Windsor, on the west bank of the Connecticut, a few miles above Hartford was one of the first English settlements in Connecticut; it consisted of a Congregational church which migrated bodily through the wilderness, from Dorchester in Massachusetts, and it is not improbable that Thomas Orton came with the first settlers. Here he was married, June 16, 1641, to Margaret Pratt; here he lived fourteen years, removing in 1655 to Farmington, a little further south. He seems to have been one of the most substantial men of that town; he represented it in the Legislature of the Colony in 1684, and held, as the records show, a considerable estate in valuable land.

This was the American founder of the family from which Edward Orton sprung, and of which he modestly says: "I do not find any clear proofs of commanding or distinctive qualities of any sort in the Orton line; but it seems to have furnished a good basis on which to build a fair average of New England or American character. Occasionally it has been happily blended with the blood of other families, and men of eminence have, as the result, risen above the rank and file of their day, but the great majority of the generations that have passed away have led unambitious lives, in peaceful country homes, 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife.' Every Orton of to-day, has at least five generations of New England farmers behind him."

Of the descendants of Thomas Orton those most widely known in this country may have been Dr. William Orton, Edward Orton's second cousin, long the president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and once United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue — a man of great executive ability; and Professor James Orton of Vassar College, a third cousin of Edward Orton and a naturalist of eminence, who was buried upon a little island in Lake Titicaca in Peru where he died while engaged in an exploring expedition in the interest of science. But we may safely say that far more luster has been given to the name of Orton by our friend and neighbor than by any one who has borne it on either side of the sea. The author of the Orton genealogy, with characteristic modesty, disposes of himself in a paragraph of a few lines which gives

not even a meager outline of his career. That chapter of the book must be re-written; for no name that it records is so widely known or so greatly honored as that of Edward Orton.

The grandfather of Edward Orton, Miles Orton, of Litchfield, Conn., was a soldier in the war of 1812, and died near the close of the war; his great grandfather, Samuel Orton, was fifty-two years of age at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, and was not probably in active service, but the two eldest sons of Samuel Orton, Gideon and Samuel, great uncles of Edward Orton, were both revolutionary soldiers, and were both probably members of the regiment in which my own great grandfather enlisted in the spring of 1777. These three young men probably knew each other, and may have fought side by side at Germantown, and wintered together with Washington at Valley Forge.

Samuel Orton's father, Samuel, Dr. Orton's great-great grandfather, who was born in 1694, and who was one of the first settlers of Litchfield, Conn., was a captain of the militia company raised in his town for defense against the Indians. The family to which he belonged is thus proved to have been actively engaged in the Colonial wars, in the Revolutionary war, and in the war of 1812.

His father, Samuel Gibbs Orton, was born in Old Litchfield, in 1797, and there grew to manhood. The soil was sterile and life was a struggle; the death of Samuel's father when he was but sixteen left him the oldest of a family of eight, and threw upon him a heavy burden, but he was one of those whom burdens do not crush; and his manhood was invigorated under the strain. that hill country of western Connecticut seems to be adapted to the raising of men; five years later Samuel Gibbs Orton, and only three or four miles from his birthplace, Horace Bushnell was born; and John Brown of Harpers Ferry who was only three years his junior came from the first town north and was his fellow pupil in the Academy when he was preparing for College.

When these were lads, Lyman Beecher was the minister of the Congregational church at Litchfield, and it was under his pungent and strenuous preaching that Samuel Gibbs Orton was converted and began to prepare for college. His first year was

spent at Yale; then hearing of a young college in Oneida County, New York, where a poor student's chances to pay his way might be better than at Yale, he walked with all his earthly possessions on his back, all the way from New Haven to Clinton, near Utica, and entered Hamilton College, from which he graduated free from debt in 1822, having paid his college expenses by his labor.

The early years of Mr. Orton's ministry were spent in eastern New York and Delaware County; here he was married, in 1824, and here in the village of Deposit, March 9, 1829, Edward Orton was born. Failing health soon drove the young minister from these mountains, and he set out, on horseback, in search of a more genial climate in what was then the far west. Across the state of New York he journeyed, gaining strength as he went, and when on the heights of Chautauqua he saw the broad expanse of Lake Erie with its fertile slopes he felt that he had reached the promised land and dismounting from his horse he lifted up thanksgivings to the Providence which had brought him in safety to a country so fair. Hither his little family soon followed him, when Edward was only four years old; and here to the labors of an evangelist among the weaker churches of Chautauqua County, Samuel Gibbs Orton devoted a number of years. From these labors he was called to the Park Street Presbyterian church of Buffalo, where he spent a few years, but when Edward was eight years old he returned to Chautauqua County, the Presbyterian church of Ripley, the westermost town of New York, on the lake shore, having offered him its pastorate. "Here," says his son, "Mr. Orton remained for sixteen years, interested in and serviceable to every phase of the life of the people, religious, moral, intellectual and natural. He fitted a number of the young men of his parish for college. He established and maintained in the town a private school, which was the equivalent of an academy, and which exercised a refining and uplifting influence upon the community to a notable extent."

This, then, was the early home of Edward Orton, and these were the influences in which his life was nurtured. It was a country minister's home—a home in which learning and religion went hand in hand; where, if the theories were severe, the ideals

were lofty; where plain living was joined with high thinking. Edward Orton was constrained, in later years, as we shall see, to cause his father great sorrow in following his own convictions of religious truth; but his own words bear testimony to the honor in which he held his father:

"Mr. Orton," says his son, "was a man of excellent gifts in many directions. He was not what would be called a great or profound preacher, but he was an unusually persuasive and successful one. He was sincere and earnest. He had a wonderful knowledge of human nature, by which he always adapted himself to the audience which he was addressing. He had the practical talent of the genuine New Englander; had as much knowledge of farming as any farmer in his parish, and almost the same could be said of him in many other lines of business. To the end of his days he had an eager love of nature and of man; was hospitable to all new thought so far as it did not seem to him to be inconsistent with the theological tenets which were, to him, the most vital and important facts in the universe. His kind and sympathetic nature made him universally beloved."

The boyhood of Edward was thus spent in an environment most friendly to health of body and purity of soul, and manliness of character. In the rural home, as he testifies, "he acquired a knowledge of and a life-long interest in country life. He often worked by the day and sometimes by the month, among the neighboring farmers," giving his winters mainly to study. Partly by his father, and partly by the two academies of Westfield and Fredonia, he was fitted for Hamilton College, which he entered, as Sophomore, when he was sixteen, graduating, in 1848, at the age of nineteen. Hamilton College, at that day, as I well remember, was regarded as one of the best of the higher institutions of learning; it was only seven years later that my own choice of a college was made, and Hamilton was the one to which my thought was first directed. The scientific department was not strong; in that respect it was like all the rest of the colleges of that time; but its reputation for some kinds of work was very high; no better training in language and literature, in writing and speaking was given anywhere. The curriculum was that of the old-fashioned college—Greek and Latin and mathematics, rhe-

toric and oratory, a little history, some philosophy, and the rudiments of natural science, with considerable astronomy—"the observatory at Hamilton has been famous"—what was called a liberal education—an all-round training, which opened quite a number of windows through which a man might look out on life, and instead of making him a specialist, sought to lay a foundation of general knowledge on which, if he chose he might build his specialty in after time. I think that that old-fashioned training has demonstrated its value in the life of Edward Orton. It gave him, to begin with, a most admirable instrument for his work, in a literary style, clear, elegant, forcible, the perfection of good English, — a style by which he could illuminate any subject of which he treated; and it gave him also a breadth of outlook, and a comprehensiveness of judgment which rendered his scientific work more worthy of acceptation. Edward Orton, at any rate, never despised the training which he received in this old-fashioned college; he kept his interest in the subjects which he studied there and his knowledge of them; since I have been in Columbus he has taught Latin in the Preparatory Department of the University, and some of his pupils have told me that he was the best Latin teacher they ever had; and he was for some time the instructor and a most admirable instructor in the art of public speaking. I am not inclined to believe that he was any less successful as a specialist in geology because he was a broadly cultured man. Certainly he was worth to the world a great deal more than he would have been if he had known nothing but geology. Those who know testify that his voice from the beginning has been for breadth of training in our own university. Dr. Chamberlain, writing in the "Ohio Farmer," tells us that when the Grange and other agencies in the earlier days urged more of practical agriculture in the curriculum, his courteous answer always was: "I think we should first lay broad foundations of general culture and science, and specialize later as funds increase and the demand arises." It was well, I think, that a man with such a training was at the helm in the first years of the life of our university.

He was a mere youth when he came out of Hamilton College. Not often is the baccalaureate won at the age of nineteen.

His purpose in life was clear; he was on his way to the Christian ministry, and the year after his graduation — (he taught, I think, part of a year in Cincinnati)—he entered Lane Seminary in that city, of which Dr. Lyman Beecher, thirty years before his father's pastor in old Litchfield, was then the presiding genius, and in which Lyman Beecher's son-in-law, Calvin E. Stowe was one of the professors. About that time Mrs. Stowe must have been gathering her material for "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It was a time of intense intellectual activity. The antagonistic forces which met, only a decade later, in the mighty struggle of the Civil War, were then angrily confronting each other; Clay's compromise measures, by which he vainly sought to avert the impending conflict, were passing through that great debate in Congress; Seward and Chase and Hale were standing and voting together in the Senate for the restriction of slavery, against the combined strength of both the great political parties. It sounds a little queer, to one who watched that conflict, as I watched it, to hear the political descendants of Seward and Chase and Hale sneering at independency in politics! Men like Theodore Parker and Henry Ward Beecher and William Lloyd Garrison and John G. Whittier were challenging the divine right of slavery and disputing the traditional interpretation of the Bible on which it rested. Something of the fermentation of the time was in the mind of Edward Orton; the theological traditionalism of that school of the prophets in which he was studying seems to have laid upon him a burden heavier than he could bear. He heard a sermon, one Sunday, on the condition of the heathen world, which consigned to a hopeless doom all who die without the knowledge of the historic Christ, and the injustice of the dogma made him angry: he told the professor with whom he walked home from church that it was a horrible doctrine — that he could never preach it. From this time his mind was full of questionings; he did not care to continue his studies at Lane. Some failure of eyesight also complicated his problem; he seems to have turned aside to farm-work for a year or two to recover his health. Meantime he had heard of a seminary on Andover Hill in Massachusetts in which, as was reported, a broader theology was taught; indeed grave suspicions of heresy attached to some of the instructors,—

but the young theologue was less afraid of heresy than of heathenism in theology, and he made his way thither, pausing however by the way, for what reason I know not, to study chemistry for six months in Harvard, under Professor Horsford. At Andover he completed his theological studies. Edward A. Park and Austin Phelps were the brightest stars in the Andover constellation at that time; their theological method was somewhat more modern than that of Lane; they sought a rational view of Christian doctrine, and Edward Orton was able under their guidance to hold on to his purpose of preaching the gospel. Soon after leaving Andover he was ordained to the ministry of the Presbyterian church, and accepted the pastorate of a church in the secluded village of Downsville, in Delaware County, New York. Of this ministry we have but slender records. Dr. Orton was reticent about this experience. It would be perfectly safe to say that he was an earnest preacher and a faithful pastor; that his deep sincerity and his strong human sympathy must have given him great power in the work of winning men. Nevertheless it was a period of storm and stress; his theological difficulties deepened; many of the things which he was expected to teach came to bear for him an air of unreality; at length, after a struggle whose nature we can guess,— and can only guess, because he has not chosen to share with his friends his mental disquietude — we find him turning from a task that had become to him impossible, and entering, in 1856, upon his life work as a teacher in the State Normal School at Albany.

He had given up the ministry, but he had by no means parted with his religious purpose; he connected himself with the First Presbyterian church of Albany and taught a large Bible class in the Normal School. After a while it began to be noised abroad that the teachings of this Bible class were not following the beaten track. What was the nature of the divergence charged against him I do not know; it may, very likely, have been some conflict between his science and the traditional interpretation of the Book of Genesis. This was a time when strenuous efforts were made to reconcile Genesis with geology; such books as Hugh Muller's "Testimony of the Rocks" and Pye Smith's "Scripture and Geology" held fast to the historical and scientific accuracy of

the early chapters of Genesis and sought to make them agree with the facts of modern science. Of course it was a hopeless undertaking; those chapters do not tally with the testimony of the rocks and it is not improbable that Edward Orton said so. It would be hard to find a professor in any Congregagtional Theological Seminary in the world to-day who would not say the same thing; but in those days such a statement was flat heresy, and Professor Orton found himself under a cloud. He had been assisting, with great acceptance to the pupils, in conducting morning worship in the chapel of the Normal School; he found that his assistance in this service was no longer requested, and on inquiring of the authorities the reason of this change, learned that they did not deem him a fit person to lead the devotions of the school. At once he resigned his position, and his resignation was accepted. Some account of this transaction is found in a correspondence which appeared in the New York Tribune of June, 1859. A letter signed "Jefferson," was printed in that paper, June 17, which states that some three or four years before a young Presbyterian clergyman had been appointed professor in the State Normal School at Albany; that he had fine talents for teaching and because of his religious character had been appointed to take charge of a Bible class of pupils; that he had been removed from the charge of this class on account of his religious opinions, because he no longer believed in all the doctrines held in the church to which he belonged; that Presbyterian clergymen in town were aware of his changed views, and that the principal of the school, probably moved by them, had, though with much reluctance, made the heresy of the professor an objection to his continuance in the school. "It was not alleged," says the writer, "that he obtruded his religious opinions upon the scholars, or in any way sought to make proselytes; neither was it objected that his character as a truly religious man and a faithful teacher, was in the least degree impaired. On the contrary he was, if possible, more than ever beloved and confided in by his pupils and was acknowledged by all to be the most popular teacher in the school." But outside influence had undoubtedly demanded his separation from the institution. The

Albany Presbytery had arraigned him on a charge of heresy. The principal of the school continued his importunities upon the professor to resign his place, admitting that public opinion could never sanction his removal from office on account of his religious opinions. "The result is," said the writer, "that the professor has been compelled by persistent annoyance and persecution to resign and will leave the school at the end of the year. Here is religious liberty violated in a state institution, against the constitution of the state, which declares that no discrimination or preference shall be allowed in the matter of religious opinions." The state superintendent of public instruction had, the writer testifies, freely denounced the performance, as wholly unsanctioned by him.

To this statement the following reply by Dr. Orton appeared in the Tribune of June 24, 1859:

"A letter bearing the date of June 13, 1859, over the signature of 'Jefferson,' appeared in the Tribune of Friday, June 17, relating to the resignation of one of the professors in the State Normal School. The reference to me as the teacher alluded to was unmistakable, and I therefore take the liberty over my own signature to call attention to some statements which may do injustice to the principal of the school. Exception can be taken to that section in the letter which asserted that I was 'removed' from the charge of the Bible Class which I had for several terms conducted. The facts which led to the cessation of my connection with it can be briefly told. In the summer vacation of 1858 I wrote to the principal stating in substance that my religious views had changed in some respects since I undertook the conduct of the class, and that while I should be glad to go on with it I did not feel at liberty to do so without mentioning the matter in this way to him. I further stated that I should not resume the class without an intimation from him to the effect that he wished me to do so at the beginning of the term. I was not invited to resume the charge.

"The second of these strictures is this: 'The principal of the school (apparently with much unwillingness) began to make the heresy of the professor an objection to his continuance.' In the course of conversations which I myself commenced with the

Principal, entirely similar in character to conversations which I had been accustomed from time to time to hold with him during all of my connection with the school, I was led to infer that the change in my religious views was likely to affect the tenure of my office. I received my appointment to the professorship which I have held through the influence of the Principal, and I have considered myself bound in honor to resign my situation at any time he should desire it. When, therefore, I was obliged to conclude that my continuance in the school was no longer desired, I deemed it necessary for me to offer my resignation. In regard, then, to this paragraph, and to others which I shall immediately quote, I have to say that at no time have I been importuned or even requested to leave the school. The language employed in the conversations which I sought, and to which I have already referred, was carefully guarded, while, at the time, I must add that no requests, persuasions or importunities could strengthen the impression made upon my mind that it was desired that my connection with the school should be brought to an end.

"The remaining sentences of the letter to which I wish to refer, are these: 'The Principal of the school continued and increased his importunities upon the professor to resign his place, admitting all the while that public opinion would never sanction his forcible removal from the office on account of his religious opinions. The result is that the professor has been compelled by persistent annoyances and persecutions to resign, and will leave the school at the end of the present term.' The statements which I have made in the preceding paragraph apply especially to the first of these sentences and to the word 'persecutions' in the last. There remains a single phrase which is, perhaps, most liable of all to misconstruction. It is this: 'Persistent annoyances.' Annoyances were, of necessity, attached to my position, but that they were of such a nature as an ungenerous man could inflict upon a subordinate in position, I gladly take this opportunity to deny. The personal treatment which I have received during all the time in which my retirement from the school has been contemplated has been in the highest degree considerate and kind.

"I have only to add that were it left for me alone to choose, even the interest which I cherish in the principles involved in this matter would be hardly sufficient to overcome the reluctance which I feel to achieving such kind of notoriety."

It seems, at this day, almost incredible that such a man should have been compelled for such a reason to give up a good work in a state institution which he was undoubtedly performing with the greatest skill and success, but that was a day when the heresy accuser was abroad in the land and he was a mighty man of war, armed with bows and arrows and slings and sharp spears. There was little mercy for those who aroused his suspicion.

From Albany he was called to the principalship of Chester Academy, in Orange county, New York, where he wrought for six years, with all good fidelity and to such purpose that his name became widely known, so that in 1865 he was called to a professorship in the college which Horace Mann had made famous by his consecrated labors, and from whose presidency Thomas Hill had recently retired. Antioch College was in those days one of the most promising of the western institutions, and the call was a distinct promotion for Mr. Orton. But it was, at this time, under Unitarian control, and the acceptance of a professorship in it signified the identification of the professor with that denomination. To his good Presbyterian father, who had then retired from the ministry and was dwelling in retirement in northern Pennsylvania, this was a terrible calamity—almost a tragedy. He could not regard his son's action in any other light than that of apostasy; for a long time he could neither be reconciled nor comforted. At length, however, he was persuaded to visit Yellow Springs, and after a few weeks spent in the home of his son, the father returned to his own house greatly reassured and quieted. One cannot help pitying the good man in his agony of soul over the departure of his son from the orthodox fold, yet one must wonder at the blinding power of a theological prejudice, which could fill the heart of a father with mortal fear for the fate of a son with a faith as firm and a character as Christlike as that of Edward Orton.

Of the work of Dr. Orton at Antioch I can give no adequate report. I meet men and women, now and then, who were his pupils there, and I have never met one who did not speak of him with filial affection. Doubtless it was a good service that he rendered there, as everywhere. On the resignation of Dr. Hosmer in 1872 he was made president of Antioch; a year later he was called to the presidency of the new "Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College," now the Ohio State University.

The remainder of his life—more than a quarter of a century—has been spent among us; it has been an open book, known and read of all men. For eight years he held the presidency of the College, which in 1878, became the University; since 1881 he has been professor of Geology. In 1869 he was made one of the assistants of Professor Newbery, the state geologist; since 1882 he has held the honorable position vacated by the latter, and seven thick volumes of geological reports will forever connect his name with the physical history of the State of Ohio. The statistical, geographical and scientific portions of the article "Ohio" in the Encyclopedia Britannica are also from his pen.

Such is an imperfect outline of this busy life. The difficult and delicate task remains to me of offering some estimate and appreciation of the significance and value of this life.

1. Of the scientific work of Dr. Orton I am not, of course, qualified to speak. I only know that he was held in high esteem by his contemporaries and associates in scientific study; his selection last year to the presidency of the American Association for the Advancement of Science is evidence enough of that fact. It was to him a most gratifying recognition of his honorable career, and I am sure that there was not one of his neighbors in Columbus whose heart was not warm with thankfulness and pride when this honor was bestowed on him. It was a fitting and beautiful thing that his life should be crowned, at the end of his days, and in the presence of those who loved him best, with this high distinction.

All I can say about his scientific attainments is that he knew how to make the subjects of which he treated profoundly interesting. The lucidity of his exposition, the quiet eloquence of his presentation clothed all these themes with light. And his words,

whether written or spoken, always made the impression that the matter had been well weighed; that the evidence had been thoroughly sifted; that the induction was as broad as he could make it; that it was safe to trust his judgment. Some of his addresses—that upon "The Stored Power of the World"; his Alumni address at Hamilton College, in June, 1888, on "The Method of Science and Its Influence Upon the Branches of Knowledge Pertaining to Man," and notably that great oration, not yet printed, which was heard once from this pulpit, on "Man's Place In Nature," are examples of the luminous presentation of the great facts of science which will take rank with the best that has been done along this line in this generation.

2. Of his work as a teacher the testimony is full enough so that one may speak with no reserve. Unquestionably he was a great teacher, full of his subject, full of the passion for truth, full of the intellectual sympathy which enabled him to put himself *en rapport* with his pupils, to know how they needed to be helped, and by what methods of approach to come into close contact with them. I have never heard any pupil of his speak in any other than the most enthusiastic terms of his ability as a teacher.

His conception of education was large and high. He was a scientific man, and he had the strongest faith in scientific methods of study, but he was far from believing that nothing is worth knowing except the physical sciences. His plea for the broader culture in his inaugural address as President of the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College is one of the best things he ever said. He is urging that education must be practical:

"What shall be said," he demands, "of the study of language, especially of our own? Is not the power to make clear, accurate intelligible statements of what we know or what we think a practical power? Does not our education show itself glaringly defective when it leaves us without this ability? Men with knowledge and ideas, but without the power of adequate expression,—like lumber wagons loaded with gold—never pass for what they are worth in this world. But this power to use language with precision and efficiency, and still more the ability to endow it with persuasive force, does not

come to us in dreams. There is no royal road, no short cut to good English. It is one of the choice fruits of education. If obtained at all it must be bought with a price, the same price that is paid for solid attainments in any other department of knowledge, patient and extended study. Can such study be left out of a practical curriculum?"

Again he is pleading that education must be liberal:

"What is a liberal education? Aristotle first used the term which we thus translate, and by it he attempted to designate an education fit for a freeman. He might justly have included an education that should give freedom to its possessor, that should liberate him from the narrowness, and prejudice, and isolation, the slavery of an uneducated mind. Something at least of this meaning has always been retained, and to-day the conception of a liberal education that would be accepted by the largest number would be found to include the education of man as man rather than that which equips him for a particular post of duty; the education that concerns itself with the broad substratum of general knowledge rather than the special applications of knowledge to some isolated field; the education that aspires to a symmetrical and balanced culture of all human faculties rather than that which selects one set of faculties for training and leaves the rest to accident or atrophy; the education that imbues the mind with a generous sympathy for every department of knowledge and that recognizes the contributions of each department as necessary to the perfect whole, rather than that which transforms its possessors into narrow and conceited specialists, mutually intolerant of each other's and of all others' work and claims. Can we, indeed, improve upon Milton's ideal of a liberal education? 'I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war.'"

No better statement of what education means is likely to be made than this. It ought to be printed in large type and framed, and hung in the halls of the University and of every high school and academy in the State of Ohio.

3. I have already alluded to his admirable English style and the quotations that I have given and shall give, will render superfluous any extended comment on his merits as a writer. There is never any straining after effect; he is no mere phrase maker; he has something to say, and he says it in perspicuous, balanced, musical English. His learning is never obtruded but it often illuminates his sentences; out of the abundance of his knowledge of the best that has been said in books he brings forth treasures new and old; and a subtle and benignant humor often plays like a lambent light over his dignified pages.

His speaking, too, was excellent. He did not like to speak without notes; he was freest and most effective with his address before him, but he gave it with such naturalness and ease, such fine modulations of a sympathetic and persuasive voice, that no muscular effort and no spectacular demonstrations were necessary to seize and hold the undivided attention of the auditors.

4. Of his relations, as a citizen, to the city, the state and the nation, there is much to say, but that topic will be treated adequately by another; I can only touch it. If Dr. Orton could not be described as the scholar in politics, he was surely a scholar to whom the public welfare was a matter of the deepest concern. He was counted, I suppose, as a member of one of the political parties; when there were not sufficient reasons to the contrary he voted for the candidates of that party; but there were often sufficient reasons to the contrary. He was no blind partizan; the misdoings of his own party hurt him quite as much as those of the other, and he saw them just as distinctly and punished them at the polls. No man kept closer watch of the great movements in the political world; no man loved his country with a more passionate love, or sought more diligently, in unobtrusive ways, to form that sound and sane public opinion by which the questions of state shall be wisely settled. In city affairs he was always interested, and the deplorable and shameful failure to find the best men and put the control of affairs into their hands caused him the keenest mortification. It would be well if the people who assume the care of our municipal interests, and who, in many cases, make it only too evident that they have none but selfish ends in view, could see themselves as Edward Orton always saw

them. Yet he was not despondent; he looked, even in the darkness of this decade, for a New Columbus to descend out of heaven from God. In that benignant message which he uttered at the banquet given to him on his seventieth birthday he put together these questions and answers:

"What is the outlook, do you ask, at the end of threescore years and ten, as to the conditions of society? How do the prospects of humanity appear? I am glad to testify that the outlook with me is on the whole hopeful and inspiring. I feel sure that the pathway of man is still ascending. He is certainly coming to wider vision and wider control of nature. Here, in our time and place, it would be ostrich-like stupidity, it would be worse than Christian Science, to deny the existence of evils that assail and threaten the social state. But I feel confident that the coming generation will grapple with all these dangers and difficulties with manly courage, and that every one of them will yield at last to a fair, just and considerate treatment."

How much sounder, how much truer is this clear-eyed confidence than that half-despairing note with which Ruskin's message closed or the rueful pessimism of Tennyson's second Locksley Hall!

And now, as I draw still closer to my theme, and seek to unveil the hidden sources of this personality, a sense of its sacredness makes me loth to speak lest something extravagant or unworthy should be said.

Let me give you first a few words of testimony from those who knew him long ago. Dr. Thomas S. Hastings of New York City, an honored and well-beloved Presbyterian pastor, for a long time the President of Union Theological Seminary, writes me thus:

'You ask me to write you concerning the college life of my classmate the late Professor Edward Orton, LL. D.

"He entered the class of 1848 at the beginning of our Sophomore year. He was singularly modest, retiring and reserved, but we soon discovered his marked ability. As a scholar he went at once to the front and maintained his position to the end of the course as the finest scholar in the class. He seemed to me a serious, deeply earnest and sincere man. He did not min-

gle in college sports or college politics, and yet he commanded the respect and confidence of all. Two years ago, at the fiftieth anniversary of our graduation, Dr. Orton was the 'class annalist,' and his kindly and discriminating review of the characters and careers of our classmates, showed the keenness of his perceptions and the charming sweetness of his nature. I have followed his public career with affectionate interest, and though I could not always agree with his published opinions I have always believed in him and loved him as a profoundly good man."

Dr. John Bascom, who knew him a little later, sends me this testimony:

"I met Professor Orton first in Andover Theological Seminary. We spent one year, — 1845 — together there, though not in the same class. We were drawn to each other by an incipient freedom of religious belief, and by the pleasure we took in outdoor excursions. For fifteen or twenty years after we left the Seminary I saw nothing of him and hardly heard from him. Later we became regular correspondents and interchanged visits.

"Dr. Orton had a diligent, penetrative and comprehensive mind. He did what his hand found to do, and the world lay open to his hand on many sides. He took as constant and warm an interest in all the questions pertaining to our spiritual life as any man I have ever known. The consequence was that few religious beliefs satisfied him, and he was ever anxious to lay better foundations of faith. 'The Natural History of the Christian Religion' by William Mackintosh was a book to which he attached the highest value. It is remarkable for the tenacity of its faith, and at the same time for the breadth and thoroughness of its criticism. I have felt that the reason of Dr. Orton's attachment to me lay chiefly in the fact that having given myself less to physical inquiries, and never having been victimized by empirical philosophy, I was able to bring more confidence to spiritual truths and increase his courage in this direction. No change of belief with Dr. Orton was the result of indolence or indifference. He first brought to my attention 'The Religion of Israel' by Kuenen, a book fitted to greatly modify one's interpretation of Scripture.

"As a friend Dr. Orton was very considerate and self-sacrificing. His inimitable courtesy and sweetness of voice opened a path before him like sunshine. Few men are found so uniformly fitted to do good and to avoid the evils of belligerency as was he. His usefulness and his success lay almost exclusively in his own personal endowments."

The perfect courtesy to which Dr. Bascom has referred was something more than manners, it was character. We beheld in it the natural expression of a just, benignant, gracious personality. It was never effusive; it was dignified, it was a little stately, but the stateliness was not to display himself but to honor you. And how much there was of considerate and helpful kindness in his life; how many things that he thought of saying and doing which brought strength and courage and consolation in the hours when he needed them most. All who wrought to relieve suffering and minister to human need found in him a helper; to the end of his life he was actively interested in all kinds of philanthropic work.

I have spoken of the change in his religious opinions. It must not be supposed that this change involved any loosening of his hold on the fundamental verities of religion. I have been reading in manuscript a few of Dr. Orton's sermons, written and preached after he went to Yellow Springs, and I am sure that there is nothing in any of them that would not be welcomed as good gospel in any church in Columbus today. There is a sermon from the text, "Be not weary in well doing, for in due season ye shall reap if ye faint not," which lays down in the clearest manner the great laws of the spiritual life, insisting that the true well-doing involves obedience to both the great commandments. "Men frequently argue," he says, "that the sustaining of right relations to each other is all that is required, that no charge can stand against that life which fulfills the demands of what is commonly called morality. In opposition to all such half-truths the commandment comes, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.' We cannot love our fellow-men as ourselves aright without loving God first and supremely. We can never set a right estimate upon human nature in ourselves or others, only as we have had a vision of its divine original.

There is no well-doing possible that leaves God out of the account."

There is a noble sermon on the text "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness." Very impressive is his enforcement of the truth that the deepest craving in man is this hunger for soundness and perfection of character, and that the way to find it is the way of Jesus. "With the spirit of the great Master in our hearts," he closes, "we cannot miss the real object of our lives. That such a spirit has entered into this world is the best pledge that we have of another.

"Here is righteousness—to live in the spirit and temper of Jesus of Nazareth:

> "'And Him evermore I behold
> Walking in Galilee,
> Through the cornfield's waving gold,
> In hamlet, in wood and in wold
> By the shores of the beautiful sea.
> He toucheth the sightless eyes,
> The demons before Him flee;
> To the dead he sayeth, 'Arise!'
> To the living, 'Follow me!'"

Still another sermon from these last words, "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men," which was first preached as the baccalaureate sermon to the graduating class in this church in 1880, and which was repeated in the college chapel in March, 1888, is broadly and deeply and grandly Christian from beginning to end.

In his ways of stating some of the Christian truths Dr. Orton would have differed from many who call themselves Christians. The miraculous elements in Christianity were not so significant to him as they are to some of us. Yet even concerning these he said in his last great address on "Man's Place in Nature": "For myself I have no objection to miracles, in themelves considered, so that they are properly supported. As far as our present knowledge goes the entrance of life into the world was a miraculous event."

His faith in a personal God was clear and unwavering. "If," he says, "life, personality, reason, conscience, imagination

come from nature, then nature has in it a supreme, personal, rational, moral element. In other words, God is in nature. Personality cannot spring from anything less than, lower than itself—the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain from which it flows."

His belief in Jesus Christ he might not have chosen to put into your words or mine. Let us not ask him to do any such thing. Let us permit him to express it in his own way. In his address at Hamilton College eleven years ago he said: "Beyond the final and all comprehending law of reason and righteousness which was laid down by Jesus of Nazareth it is impossible to go. The whole was uttered then, and any other statement is but a repetition."

In the noble speech on "Man's Place In Nature," he speaks of the great forces of good will and kindness which are changing the character of our modern civilization, saying, "This view of life and man has, I need not say, a historic source. There was a date when it was first announced, a point on the face of the earth from which as a center the message worked its way outward. We follow it back with absolute certainty to Jesus of Nazareth. He taught the new doctrine in words, he taught it still more impressively by his life and by his death. The Christian ideal of character can be traced as definitely to this source as the Declaration of Independence to Jefferson or Magna Charta to the barons. The ideal is bound to inherit the earth. It is the noblest conception of man and the universe that the mind has ever reached."

And again in the baccalaureate sermon, quoting the bold words of the Fisherman of Galilee who calls to us: "Follow me!" he asks whether, after all the lapse of years and the growth of art, and the spread of science and the triumphs of civilization, there may not now be some one who could more worthily utter these words, and his answer is: "No, no. This art the Nazarene has inspired. Science has grown only along the pathways he has trod, and all that is most characteristic and permanent in modern civilization has its origin in him. He stands to-day further in advance of our highest thought and

attainment than he seemed to stand in advance of the fishermen of Galilee."

Of the great hereafter he thought much, and in years past somewhat dubiously. There was no dogmatic disbelief; there was a yearning hope that almost reached conviction, but a shadow lay upon the future, and he would not confess a belief for which there was not adequate ground. But in later years this hope has steadily grown to assurance. With him, I suppose, as with Fiske and Romanes, the larger implications of the doctrine of evolution brought a kind of certitude he had never found before. In that swan song of his, at the birthday banquet, are these questions and answers, which give us his latest and ripest thought.

"What is the outlook," he imagines his friends asking him, "at your time of life, as to the individual future? Does the old man get any nearer than the younger ones to an answer to the great question, 'If a man die shall he live again?' Here, too, I am glad to say that the hope grows stronger as the years go by, that a being of such unmistakable alliance with divinity as man, with the godlike endowments of reason and conscience, may hope to emerge even from the shock of death unharmed. I have a growing respect and reverence for man as man. The spiritual difference between him and the rest of the creation seems infinite. He belongs to the higher side of the universe and will share its great destiny. I am sure that we often think too meanly of ourselves. Tennyson expresses my faith in the well known lines:

> 'Thou wilt not leave us in the dust,
> Thou madest man, he knows not why;
> He thinks he was not made to die,
> And thou hast made him, Thou art just.'

"Or, as expressed by Mackintosh: 'If through the cosmical and evolutionary process the Great Unseen has been able out of the primordial elements to bring beings into existence akin to himself, may it not be hoped that these same beings may be fitted for a life beyond the limits of a finite duration?' "

On that quiet Sabbath, which was his last full day upon earth, he seemed to be aware that "the shadow, feared of man,

who keeps the keys of all the creeds," was lurking near, and he met the challenge without a tremor.

"Do you know," he said to one member of his family some time during the afternoon, "do you know that poem of Browning's about death—'The fog in the throat, the mist in the face?'" It was looked for, but was not found then, and the matter was dropped. As the evening drew on, another member of the family was sitting with him, and he mentioned it again. This time it was found and read to him, and he listened with keen interest. A little later this daughter went out and the other came in. "There is that poem of, Browning's—"Prospice," he said. "Won't you read it to me?" She read it, and after a little his wife took her place by his side. "Do you remember," he said to her, "that poem of Browning's about death? It is there. I should like to hear you read it." The third time it was read to him. None of them knew that the others had been asked to read the poem. Was it not the word that uttered his own deepest feeling about death:

"Fear death? To feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,
When the snows begin and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
The post of the foe;
Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form,
Yet the strong man must go;
For the journey is done and the summit attained,
And the barriers fall,
Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
The reward of it all.
I was even a fighter, so — one fight more,
The best and the last!
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes and forbore,
And bade me creep past.
No! let me taste of the whole of it, fare like my peers,
The heroes of old,
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears,
Of pain, darkness and cold.
For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,

And the element's rage, the fiend voices that rave
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace, then a joy,
Then a light, then thy breast,
O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
And with God be the rest!"

Thus it was that he welcomed death, and passed to where, beyond these voices, there is peace. The thoughts of these last hours were not unfamiliar thoughts; the one who knew him better than any other could have known him testifies that he was the most devout soul she has ever known; that while he never wore his faith upon his sleeve, his deepest and most constant interest has always been in the things unseen and eternal. He has gone, as we believe, to stand among those who no longer see as in the blurred mirror, dimly, but are face to face with the eternal realities, in the light of God—in that fuller revelation for which his soul was always athirst. The world in which he lived is a better world for us, and for many others, because he has lived in it, and the world to which he has gone is dearer and nearer and surer since he has passed within its portals.

"Unnoted as the setting of a star
He passed; and sect and party scarcely knew
When from their midst a sage and seer withdrew
To fitter audience, where the great dead are
In God's republic of the heart and mind,
Leaving no purer, nobler soul behind."

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

AN ADDRESS BY BISHOP BENJAMIN WILLIAM ARNETT, D. D.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCT. 11, 1899, AT MUSIC HALL, CHICAGO.

We have been called together by the authorities of the Autumnal Festival Celebration. First, we are to give thanks for the achievements of the present century, for the triumph of mind over matter, as well as the success that has attended the labors of our workmen, the harvest of our farmers and the dividends that have accrued to our financiers. It is not only to celebrate the success in the agricultural, the commercial, the educational and social world, but it is to commemorate certain historical events that have proven to be the beginning of an epoch in the history of the country and of the race.

I know of no subject so fraught with interest and so mysterious in its workings as the organization and the development of the Northwestern Territory. To follow the birth, growth and development of this territory, it is only to set up a true standard of the progress and development of our whole country. The country, in fact the whole country, has been one of the marvels of the century. Our fathers who laid the foundation of our magnificent Republic laid them on true principles, they were laid on the Christian religion, Christian education, Christian morality and Christian temperance. The fathers of the revolution cemented these foundations with their blood and consecrated it with their tears. Our fathers, I say, because it was the Anglo-Saxon fathers, and the fathers of the Negro race, whose joint heroism and courage won the battle of the Revolution and since that day the great efforts for the development of our country, whether north or south, has been the joint work of the two races.

Whatever is grand about our country, whatever is noble about our manhood, whatever is progressive about our society, whatever is beneficent in our institutions, our churches, schools,

universities and business, they are all a part of the fruitage of the united efforts of the races, and it is well for us on this occasion to consider the development of our national wealth, national power and national honor. Whether in peace or in war, on the land or on the sea, the magnificent courage of the white man and black man have made them invincible against the foes without and the foes within. No race or nation has ever stood and succeeded before the invincible army of our nation, whether led by Farragut on the Mississippi, Perry on Lake Erie, or Jackson at New Orleans, or Dewey in the Manila Bay.

The material expansion of our country has been a source of gratification to all friends of the republican form of government. Starting with a few states, it has continued to develop and add star to star; since that the thirteen colonies formed a more perfect union. Thirty-two stars have been added to the galaxies of the nation, and as a nation they illume the pathway of the toiling millions and give hope to the struggling people of the land.

The advancement of our population has been wonderful. The following facts as relates to the expansion, territorial, population, commercial, educational, religious and otherwise, has been a marvel. We have expanded by day and by night, every day in the week, and Sunday, too. There has been no time in the past that our nation has not increased in force, in power and in majesty.

EXPANSION.

The question is often asked, "Are you in favor of expansion?" How could I be any other than an expansionist? It is the doctrine of our government, of our religion and of our civilization. The missionary thought of the gospel is one of extending and spreading to the uttermost parts of the earth the tidings of man's redemption from ignorance, sin and crime.

The genius of our civilization carries with it the breaking down of the walls of partition between civilized and uncivilized, between the barbarian and the semi-barbarian and presented to the unfortunate of the earth the advantages of our homes, churches, school houses and colleges.

The only condition that I have in expressing my opinion in favor of the expansion by the United States, is that the expansion shall be the expansion based upon the principles of the civilization of Plymouth Rock, rather than the principles of the civilization represented by Jamestown.

The two civilizations have continued for centuries. Plymouth Rock has triumphed at home, and Plymouth Rock ought to triumph abroad.

The principle that recognizes the colored man are the principles that ought to prevail.

The inhabitants of our new possessions all belong to the darker races, and according to the civilization of Jamestown, are under the ban of the Anglo-Saxon and only fit to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and to be denied their political and social rights.

All that we ask is, that the darker children, who are to be invited to come in our commonwealth, that they should be given their seat at the table with the other children of Uncle Sam, and be given an opportunity to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, or to acquire their place by their skill, by their ingenuity and by their loyalty to the flag of our country.

We trust that this will be the beginning of the accentuation of the immortal principle of the Declaration of the Independence, and that every law, statute or decision that discriminates against a man on the account of his race, his color or religion, will be wiped off the face of the earth with the Monroe doctrine, and that we shall represent the teachings of the humble Nazarene, in all lands and in all countries, so that wherever our flag floats, it shall represent the principles of the cross of Calvary.

The acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands is a step in the right direction. The Hawaiian Island has an area of 6,677 square miles, population, 95,000. On the 12th day of August, 1898, Admiral Miller of the U. S. Navy took the possession of the island in the name of the United States government, and hoisted the American flag in the presence of the representatives of the island and established a provisional government, after which the National Commission appointed by President McKinley, consisting of S. M. Cullom, of Illinois, J. T. Morgan, of Alabama,

and Hon. I. Hitt, of Illinois, convened and formulated rules and regulations for the temporary and permanent government of the island. The national authority and dominion by this act was extended 2,089 miles and destroyed the oratorical expression, "our ocean-bound republic."

The Spanish war is one of the wonders of the 19th century. It has taught the world a lesson in military science. It has been an object lesson in the relation of one government to another. It has accentuated the doctrine of the solidarity of nations and has taught a lesson of the interdependence of man upon man as never before, has laid upon the heart of the civilized world the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

The cry of Cuba has been heard and a million and a half of people were delivered from the Spanish tyranny and the chains of four centuries have been broken, and Cuba lifts her chainless hands to heaven.

Porto Rico, with her eight hundred thousand souls, has been invited to sit down at the table with the republics of our civilization, while the Philippines are resisting the authority and power of our magnificent republic.

RECAPITULATION.

Area in square miles, Porto Rico, 3,670, population, 813,000; Cuba, area in square miles, 43,000, population, 1,555,000; Philippine, square miles, 117,000; population, 9,500,000.

The total number of square miles in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines combined are 163,670; total aggregated population, 11,868,000.

This is the largest number of persons ever aggregated by one administration since the foundation of the Republic and the largest possibilities lie in the acquisition of the territory because it is scattered over every zone of the earth and produces all manner of fruit and animals. Nothing that we need hereafter for our tables, need be bought outside of the Dominion of the great Republic. Thus, the acquisition is great in many respects and it brings with it greater responsibilities for the old institutions, customs, habits and manners of the new territory will have to

be changed and reconstructed on the modern civilization. New ideas will take the place of the old, modifications in the family relations will have to be dealt with very cautiously in order to prevent irritation and friction; the married relations will have to be changed and be modified according to the teachings of the New Testament.

The educational interests of our country were never in a better condition than now. Everywhere all persons are now looking forward, to the rising sun, the hum of the wheels of industries furnish music for the toiling millions, and the advance in prices is receiving the attention of the workman, as he returns from his day's work.

In peace and in war, William McKinley has been the same. He has been true, not alone to the white man and to others, but he has been true to the Negro, and in every case where he had an opportunity he has advanced him materially and otherwise.

It has been his privilege to commission more Negro soldiers as officers in the United States army than has been commissioned since the foundation of the Republic. He signed more commissions for the Negroes than all the Presidents since the days of the Father of his country, and while Lincoln was the great emancipator, he only signed one, Major; Grant, the deliverer of the nation, during his term as President, only made one Counselor General, wherein William McKinley has made two, so in all the departments he has been true to the race, true to his country and to his God.

GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC.

In 1772, the Territories of the Confederation extended westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the Lakes, giving a total area of about 800,000 square miles, but by large acquisitions since made, it has reached its present size.

Its present area has been acquired as follows: 1776-1783 by war with England, the 13 original states, square miles 820,680, cost, $168,000,000; 1803, by treaty with France, (Louisiana), 899,576 square miles, cost $15,000,000; 1819, by treaty with Spain, Florida, 66,900 square miles, cost, $3,000,000; 1845, treaty by union with Mexico, Texas, 318,000 square miles;

debt of Texas on admission into the Union, $7,500,000; 1846, by treaty with England, Oregon and California, 308,052 square miles; 1846-48, by war, Mexico, New Mexico, 522,955 square miles, cost $15,000,000; 1853, by treaty with Mexico, Gads'n purchase, 45,535 square miles, cost $10,000,000; 1867, treaty with Russia, Alaska, 577,909 square miles, cost $7,200,000; total number of square miles, 3,559,687, total cost, $225,500,000.

Its increase in population and rapid growth and development have been truly wonderful. In 1620 there were 300 white settlers in New England. Less than 250 years ago New York City was made up of a dozen log cabins, and all the land now comprising the city and county of New York was purchased for the small pittance of $24.00.

Seventy-five years since, there were less than 5,000 white people in the vast region between Lake Michigan and the Pacific Ocean, while the population now exceeds 10,000,000. Chicago was then a mere trading post of half a dozen huts.

Seventy years ago these immense lakes, Ontario, Michigan, Huron and Superior were entirely without commerce, and an Indian's canoe was about the only craft seen upon them, but now they are crowded thoroughfares, and the value of the traffic upon these waters and navigable rivers, is enormous.

April 2nd, 1788, a band of forty-eight persons left for the mouth of the Youghiogheny and the May Flower of the West was floated out in the Monongahela. They merged on the broad bosom of the Ohio and began an easier journey down that beautiful river to their chosen home below. Five days after they landed on the banks of the Muskingum river April 7th, 1788, at its confluence with the Ohio, and the first settlement of the Americans in the Northwest Territory began.

On the opposite side of the Muskingum river stood Fort Harmar, garrisoned by a detachment of United States soldiers. The pioneers found protection from the Indians and enjoyed the society of the pioneers' defences of the backwoods' life.

The company of settlers was composed of excellent men, determined upon finding homes for their families, determined to retrieve fortunes lost in the war of Independence. They recognized the necessity of some form of government, hence they organ-

ized themselves into a body politic; adopted a code of laws and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. Mr. Meigs published the laws by nailing them to a tree where all could see and read them.

October 5th, 1787, the congress of the old federation appointed Arthur St. Clair, governor, and Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the Territory North-west of the Ohio river. On the 16th of the same month they appointed Samuel Holden, Parsons John Armstrong and Mitchen Varnum, judges. John Cleves Symmes was chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the declination of Mr. Armstrong. The judges were among the early arrivals in the settlement.

Governor St. Clair arrived in the colony July 9th, 1788, and on the 14th day of July published a compact of 1787, the constitution of the territory and the commission of himself and the three judges. He explained in the proclamation the provisions of the ordinance to the people. He urged the settlers to prepare a defence against the Indians; they neglected to do so and suffered.

On the 25th day of July the first law of the territory was published and the next day the Governor issued a proclamation creating Washington county, which comprised a large part of the State of Ohio. He next established courts of probate and Quarter Sessions. The common pleas court was established August 30th, and Return Jonathan Meigs, clerk of this court, and Ebenezer Sproat was appointed sheriff. Rufus Putnam was appointed Judge of the probate court and Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., clerk. Thus the commission of the government was put in motion and Gov. St. Clair declared the 25th day of December, 1788, to be kept a day of Thanksgiving, thus following the example of the Puritan fathers in 1620.

The establishment of the government in the Northwest Territory had a very important bearing on the history of the country. It was the beginning of the organization to be administered on the principles of universal liberty. The provisions of the ordinance were of such nature that, if carried out as designed by the authors and decreed by Congress, a revolution, between the white men and the black men of the new territory, the old battle so

stubbornly fought since the days of the Nazarene, was to be open on the plains of the west with the advantage on the side of the oppressed and with the hope of the final triumph of the force of freedom.

The fathers in laying the foundation of our republic did so without a chart. The only model they had was the universal desire of mankind for self-government, self-support and self-defence, crystalizing these sentiments and expressing them. Jefferson performed an act that will immortalize his name to the latest generations.

The organization of the Northwest Territory was the legitimate fruits of the labors of the Rev. Manassah Cutler, of Massachusetts, whose life and works were the embodiment of the Declaration of Independence, the true representative of the civilization of Plymouth Rock, a friend of the continental soldier and advocated the rights of the American negro. He appeared before the people of Massachusetts and of the American Congress, advocating the consecration of a certain portion of the Northwest Territory for the children of freedom. He had an important mission on his hand. As a pioneer reformer in government, he has had no equal as to the results of his work. He used as his plea before the people, statesmen, ministers and philanthropists, the following words to the heroes of 1776:

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute a new government, laying its foun-

dations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The Declaration of Independence was the Magna Charta of American liberty. It was the expression of the soul of human freedom, and the language of the patriots of 1776.

The expression was not learned from the nations of antiquity, it was not taught in any work on political economy, but it was the simple utterance of the human soul on the question of mind, soul and body freedom.

Where was the expression from? Whence its origin? Was it earth or heaven born? Never in the history of man was so great an utterance announced as the corner stone of a humane government. It startled the inhabitants of the Old World, and made kings and the great men of the royal aristocracy examine their title to power and honor. It was like the bow of hope to the struggling government of the new world. It was a death blow to the doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule the people. The shock of that blow is still felt in all lands where the name of, and the fame of, our grand Republic is known to the earth, its inhabitants, and the beneficent influences of the doctrine of this government of the people, and by the people, and for the people, is to continue to increase in power and influence until the inhabitants of the entire earth shall perpetually enjoy universal freedom.

When the fathers formed the constitution, they used the following language:

"We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States."

Never was there an instrument of writing more in harmony with the spirit of justice and right than was the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, but it was the same year that the Ordinance of 1787 was proposed and the northwest was given to freedom The spirit of liberty was abroad in the land, in

city and country, in the valley and on the mountain, it filled the hearts of the people, and the sentiments of all true patriots were for the equality of man.

PREPARATORY STEPS TO THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

The first step was to appeal to the friends of liberty and justice and secure their hearty support. This was done, and they by speeches, lectures, essays, debates and books, presented the wrongs of the Negro, and the sinfulness of slavery was exhibited to the Christian world as never before. This was the period of individual effort.

The second step or period was when the friends of freedom formed organizations, anti-slavery societies to make and mould public sentiment against the slave trade in foreign lands, to protest against man stealing and man buying, to resist the non-extension of slavery in the territories and to prevent any State from entering the Union with slave population.

The third step or period was when an effort was made to take the slave question out of the realm of politics as far as practicable and put it in the domain of morals, to make it a moral and commercial question, to bring the problem home to the gates of commerce and the door of the church and thus make the pulpit take one side or the other, to show commerce that it would be most prosperous in a free land, with free institutions and free men. The matter was brought before the bar of public opinion and conscience, and finally before the bar of God, by the true sons of liberty, and the sons of oppression. In many places the pulpit was as dumb as the pew, and both were deaf to the appeal of the oppressed and the entreaties of their friends; the ten commandments and the golden rule were imprisoned in the house of God.

The fourth step or period was when it became a contest between free and slave labor. The rights of the Negro became a factor in the problem of commerce and became intimately connected with men of all stations and position. The agriculturalist, the mechanic, the merchant, the manufacturer of wool and cotton goods, the banker, the producer and consumer could not ignore

the question, whether producer of manual or mental labor; it was to their interest to take the side of freedom, because men are independent beings. What is good for the individual is good for the whole.

Fifth, the ordinance of 1787 was one of the greatest state papers of the colonial period of our government, or we may say of the formative period of the confederacy. It was the last great act of the confederacy, for while the congress in New York was discussing its provisions, the constitutional convention was in session at Philadelphia, laying the foundation of the great republic tracing the designs of the temple of universal liberty and equality, where all races of men were to assist in establishing, maintaining, protecting a government of the people, for the people and by the people. Thus the legal, civil, social and political rights of the people demanded a definition and understanding. If they were citizens, then they were entitled to all the rights enjoyed by the most favored; if not citizens, but men with no rights of their own then another course was necessary. It was a trying time, for the very air was pregnant with the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence. The ten commandments and the golden rule had met and kissed each other at the birth of the nation. Statesmen and orators had dwelt on the inalienable rights of men, not white men or black men, but they had said that all men were created equal and endowed with certain rights, which could not be sold or bought, nor could they give away, right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Sixth step toward the establishment of the empire of freedom was the desire of the soldiers of the revolution to establish a government on the fundamental principles for which they had fought and suffered.

The seventh step which brought about the ordinance was the "Hand of God," as seen in the providential arrangement of the affairs of the world, so that it was almost impossible for the Americans to retain their respect for England, France and Spain without showing that their profession of supreme love of liberty was genuine, and that when they said all men they meant the black, red and white men. It was a cancellation of a debt to the sentiment of universal liberty. It was a demand from

the world on the revolutionary fathers; they paid it willingly and we enjoy its blessings.

The eighth step or reason for the ordinance of 1787 was that it became a religious question. The Negro came to the church of the living God, and asked: Am I not a man and brother? The Negro received no reply, was put in the galleries and was invited to the "second table" to commemorate the death and suffering of Christ. But he would sing with them:

> "My Savior's pierced side poured out a double flood,
> By water we are purified and purchased by His blood."

The ninth step was the desire of the Ohio company to have land for the freemen and slaves, to establish Christian homes and inteligent homes, where justice and righteousness, peace and prosperity reigned under the same roof, and where all would eat at the same table and pray to the same God.

The eleventh step was the elementary principle of New England churchmen and statesmen combined in the Rev. Manassah Cutler, who for the first time in the march of years, brought the laws of Moses and the teaching of the Nazarene together and gave the world the most sublime example of the triumph of principle over personal interest, and laid the corner stone of the temple of universal freedom for all time to come.

WHAT OHIO WAS, AND IS.

Ohio was the borderland of freedom, the isthmus between slavery and Canada. It was the short cut of the underground railway; it was the battlefield of liberty; it was the citadel of legal equality, and the home of civil rights and universal emancipation, and was the seat of the first college for the sons of oppression and daughters of bondage. It was here liberty took her stand and said to slavery, "Thus far shalt thou come and no further; here thy proud waves must stop."

The Sons of Liberty organized and announced these principles to the world, and nominated one of their number for President of the United States, and said, "Roll on, liberty's ball, roll on, until every chain is broken and every fetter loosed from the limbs of every son of Adam." Here the genius of universal lib-

erty, immediate emancipation and equal rights to all men, unfurled the banner and called on the Sons of Liberty to follow the standard on to victory or death. Here was the place where the fugitive slave law found its strongest foes; here it was checked in its wild career; here the "Free Soilers" had the first victory over their foes; here the right of an equal education was first conceded to the colored men; here we had men who would assist, in the darkness of the night, the son of bondage on his way to freedom. It was the school of freedom, the normal school of liberty, the college and seminary of human rights, and the university where the Declaration of Independence, ten commandments, and the golden rule were the only text books, and the motto was "The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

The men who belonged to the Ohio company had been soldiers in the revolutionary war. They had received their pay in Continental promises to pay; so they wanted to secure homes for their families in the west; they wanted some place to settle down, so that they and their children could live happy and contented. We find that the conditions were for the establishment of freedom, free men, free speech, free press, free schools and free ballots.

An empire of religious liberty.—Free to worship God, or free to have their own thoughts on God, man, time and eternity; free to advocate natural or revealed theology; free to be a Methodist or a Catholic. But the religious sentiment has been one of the strong towers of the Northwest. It has given us an honest, sober and industrious community.

An empire of knowledge.—Education was to be encouraged and supported, so that every child in the States would be prepared to be an intelligent and useful citizen. It was to be a moral as well as a secular education. The whole man—head, heart and hands—were to be trained, brought out.

An empire of free homes.—Every family was to be provided with a home, which the family could arrange with taste and care, adorn and beautify, for the better enjoyment of life; where a family altar, dedicated to religion, morality and knowledge, could be established.

An empire of honest and loyal men, who loved their country more than self, who were consecrated to the principle of the Declaration of Independence, and obeyed the ten commandments, and worked by the golden rule. These were the men whose sons were to lay down their lives for the Constitution and the Union in 1861-5.

To these men who founded the State it was a safe base of operation in the time of war, and with the cardinal principles of a republican form of government as the foundation of the new community. As they traveled westward, their mottoes were free soil and free men, free labor, free speech, free press, free schools, free ballot, free jury-box, equal taxation, equal militia service, equal rights to all and special privileges to none. These were some of the rallying cries of the immigrants to the west and northwest.

Thus we see how the friends of the cause of freedom were encouraged, and how they by their own free will laid a foundation for the success of the citizens of the northwest; for when a man or a number of men take truth and justice for their guide, they cannot go wrong—they must succeed—for God has promised success to those who walk uprightly in church and state.

What are some of the blessings that come from the ordinance of 1787? It gives an equality in everything. In the South it was churches and school houses for the whites, while it was the slave-pen and auction block for the blacks.

The Ohio Territory and State was the highway of freedom and the breakwater of slavery. Here caste was permitted to live, but she was not allowed to bring her mother along, to remain any length of time.

It was the first field of liberty. Here she plowed, sowed and raised a grand crop of liberty-loving men and women. It was a loyal community. They loved their country, fellow-men and God *and their fellow-men and God loved them.*

It was the highway of freedom, for thousands of men would have died in houses of bondage if it had not been for Ohio's *underground railroad!*

This ordinance gave us unrestricted emigration to the west. There was no barrier thrown in the way, but every encourage-

ment was given to settlers of the country, and free homes were founded and the fires of soul-freedom burned in all the states. The men of Ohio were loyal to the Constitution and Union, and obeyed the ten commandments and the golden rule, and when danger threatened our institutions, young men and old men left farm and shop, the bank, and school house, their father and mother, wife and children, and presented themselves, to fight, suffer, defend, and if need be, die for the heritage bequeathed by the heroes of 1776, and preserved by the gallantry of the patriots of 1812, and those who marched to the City of Mexico. There was no set of men in the army that had a better record for gallantry and for personal bravery than had the soldiers of the State of Ohio from 1861 until the last gun was fired and the last foe had surrendered, to the Constitution and the Union.

The Northwest Territory has occupied a very important place in the development of the Western part of the United States; it has furnished a large number of the families who occupy the western states and territories; it also furnished a large number of men in the army of 1861-65; it has taken a prominent part in all of the financial contests in the past fifty years; it was very pronounced in its sentiments on the slavery question, and within the borders of the Northwest Territory liberty found its strongest advocates and most able defenders.

It is hard to account for the part that the inhabitants of this small territory have taken in all of the great conflicts, financially, morally and politically, but there is one thing we think can be said of the Northwestern Territory. In the first place, the men who occupied the territory, and the women who were the mothers of the children that were born in the Northwest Territory were of noble parentage and noble blood, and were trained in the school of liberty and free thought. Consequently, when they were coming to the West, they laid the foundation of the social, civil and political institutions on principles that were immortal.

The family altar was well built and well guarded. The children were well trained, and consequently they were law-abiding and law-loving, as well as liberty-loving families. The children imbibed the liberty spirit of the fathers, and the whole community became advocates of free soil and free men.

The second source of strength to the Northwest was that they built their institution on the religion of Jesus Christ. The altar of religion stood side by side with the family altar, and father and mother and child all became imbued with the faith that the fathers had in the religion of Jesus Christ; that taught the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, and every child was taught to say, "Our father who art in heaven;" and then in the "our" was embraced every nation, kindred and tongue, consequently the obligation of the great principle of the brotherhood of man was easily accomplished in the Northwest Territory, and the articles composed in the ordinance of 1787 contained the sentiment that religion, morality and knowledge were the basis of all lasting governments.

Out fathers laid the foundation of an educational system, and their educational altar became so firmly fixed that certain sections of land dedicated by them for the cause of education are still bearing fruit of the labors and toils of the fathers, so that the altar of education was the third method of strength and power of the Northwest.

The fathers not only believed in the family, religious and educational altar, but they believed in patriotism, and built the altar of patriotism, side by side, with the other altars, and the smoke of the sacrifice ascended from it every 4th day of July, and the boys were given a rousing time, that stirred up their patriotism when the old flag was waved, and the American eagle made to scream, and the glories of the fathers in the Revolution were presented in burning words by orators and by divines.

The fifth method of strength and power of this community lies in the industry of its inhabitants. Every man, woman and child was taught that it was honorable to work and that labor was royal and not degrading; that free labor was the highest occupation of the free man, and that a free man living upon a free soil and exercising free speech, going to free schools, using a free ballot and giving a fair count, was the highest ambition and greatest commission of an American citizen.

Then the doctrine as taught by these fathers was that there was a personal and moral obligation that existed between man and man, regardless of his religion, an obligation that was natural,

a chain of obligations that bound each to his fellowman and bound family to family, race to race, nation to nation, and finally bound them all to the first great cause.

Thus you see this sentiment as grown in the Northwest has characterized it more than any other portion of our country. By reason of this principle it has a place in history as the works of the fathers. The moral and religious forces of this section were organized early. The pioneer Methodist preacher and the poor schoolmaster were abroad in the land, and where the pioneer preacher and the schoolmaster join forces, to lay a foundation in the community, it is sure to prosper.

We will give some of the figures as to the condition of this section of the country to-day, as contrasted with the condition of the country in the year 1800. We will take a hundred years' account of the progress of the educational, of the moral, of the religious, the agricultural, mechanical and financial affairs, and see what a wonderful progress has been made in the hundred years that have past; and from what we have seen of the past, and what we know of the present, we may judge, somewhat faintly of the future of this great Northwest Territory. It is an honor to live in such a community. It is a privilege worth a life time to be a member of the forces that are at work in this western country in the development of true manhood and true womanhood. Therefore, we will now give you some of the statistics that you may see the astonishing growth of the territory dedicated to religion, to morality and to knowledge.

The following is a general summary of the Territory that was known as the Northwest in 1787, and which was to be formed into five states, and to be the home of freemen:

State.	Sq. Miles.	Pop. 1800.	Pop. 1880.
Ohio	41,066	45,000	3,198,239
Indiana	36,330	5,640	1,978,362
Illinois	56,650	12,282	3,078,769
Wisconsin	56,030 (1840)	30,945	1,315,480
Michigan	58,915 (1810)	4,762	1,636,331

The total number of square miles in these five states is 248,991. The total number of inhabitants in 1800 was 98,629,

and in the same territory we had in 1880 11,207,181. In 1800 there were 1,253 colored persons free and 455 slaves, of a total colored population of 1,708. We had in 1880 182,663 colored persons, and in 1890 218,470, all free, and no slaves. These figures are given in the last census.

Indiana was a part of the Northwest Territory and was first settled by Canadian voyagers in 1702, at Vincennes. It was organized as a territory in 1800, and admitted into the Union in 1816 with an area of 36,350 square miles, which are contained in its 94 counties. The following will show how her numerical strength has developed and how the colored people have increased within her borders:

Year	White	Free Col'd	Slaves	Total
1790.....				
1800.....				
1810.....	23,890	302	237	24,429
1820.....	145,758	1,230	190	147,178
1830.....	339,399	3,620	3	403,022
1840.....	678,698	7,165		685,863
1850.....	977,154	11,262		988,416
1860.....	1,339,000	11,428		1,350,428
1870.....	1,039,094	38,998		1,078,092
1890.....	2,146,736	45,668		2,192,404

Illinois contains 56,660 square miles of territory. The first settlement was by the French at Kaskaskia, in 1682. It was a part of the Northwest Territory in 1787, was organized as a separate territory in 1809, and admitted as a state of the Union in 1818. The following will give an idea of its growth since it was dedicated to freedom:

Year	Free Col'd	Slaves	Whites	Total
1790.....				
1800.....				
1810.....	613	168	11,501	12,282
1820.....	457	917	53,788	55,162
1830.....	1,647	747	155,061	157,455
1840.....	3,598	331	472,254	476,183
1850.....	5,436		841,037	846,473
1860.....	7,628		1,704,323	1,711,951
1870.....	28,762		2,511,096	2,539,858
1880.....	46,248		3,032,174	3,078,422
1890.....	57,879		3,768,572	3,826,451

Wisconsin was first settled by the French at Green Bay, in 1669, was a part of the Nortwest Territory in 1787, organized as a territory in 1836, and was admitted as a state in 1847. The following will show the numerical growth and strength:

Year	White Persons	Col'd Persons	Total
1840	30,749	185	30,934
1850	304,753	635	305,388
1860	774,710	1,171	775,881
1870	1,051,351	2,113	1,053,464
1880	1,309,662	2,724	1,312,386
1890	1,680,473	6,407	1,687,880

The first settlement within the State of Michigan was at Sault St. Marie, in the year 1668. It was a part of the Northwest Territory until it was organized as a territory in 1805. It was admitted as a state in 1837, with an area of 58,915 square miles of land. It consists of 79 counties and has had the following enumerations of its population:

Year	Free Col'd	Slaves	Whites	Total
1790				
1800				
1810	120	24	4,618	4,762
1820	174		8,591	8,765
1830	261	32	31,386	31,679
1840	707		212,560	213,267
1850	2,583		395,071	397,654
1860	6,799		742,314	749,113
1870	11,849		1,167,282	1,179,131
1880	14,986		1,614,078	1,629,064
1890	16,807		1,680,473	1,697,280

POPULATION OF THE STATES COMPOSING THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY FROM 1810 TO 1890.

	Year 1810	Year 1820	Year 1830	Year 1840	Year 1850
Ill	12,282	55,162	157,445	476,183	851,470
	Year 1860	Year 1870	Year 1880	Year 1890	Year
	1,711,951	2,539,891	3,077,871	3,826,351	
	Year 1810	Year 1820	Year 1830	Year 1840	Year 1850
Ind	24,520	147,178	343,031	685,866	988,416

	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1860	1870	1880	1890	
	1,350,428	1,680,637	1,978,301	2,192,404	.....
	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
Mich ..	4,762	8,765	31,639	212,267	397,654
	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1860	1870	1880	1890	
	749,113	1,184,059	1,636,937	2,093,889	.....
	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
Ohio ..	230,760	581,295	937,903	1,519,467	2,339,511
	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1860	1870	1880	1890	
	2,339,511	2,665,260	3,198,062	3,672,316	.....
	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880
Wis ...	30,945	305,391	775,881	1,054,670	1,315,497
	Year	Year	Year	Year	Year
	1890				
	1,686,880				

NUMBER OF SQUARE MILES IN EACH STATE COMPOSING THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

	Gross Area in Miles.	Extreme Breadth and Length In Miles	In Miles
Illinois	56,650	205	380
Indiana	36,450	160	265
Michigan	58,915	310	400
Ohio	41,060	230	205
Wisconsin	56,040	290	300
Total	249,015	1,195	1,750

POPULATION OF WHITE AND COLORED IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY,—1890.

	White	Colored	Total
Illinois	3,768,472	57,879	3,826,351
Indiana	2,146,736	45,668	2,192,404
Ohio	3,584,805	87,511	3,672,316
Michigan	2,092,884	21,005	2,113,889
Wisconsin	1,680,473	6,407	1,686,880
Total	13,273,370	218,470	13,491,740

In 1810 there were 272,324.
In 1890 there were 13,372,840.
Increase 13,100,516.

DWELLINGS AND FAMILIES IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

	Dwellings	Av. per. Dwell.	Families	Av. per. Family.
Ohio	720,417	5.10	785,291	4.68
Indiana	452,043	7.85	467,146	4.69
Illinois	669,812	5.71	778,015	4.92
Michigan	434,370	4.82	455,004	4.60
Wisconsin	316,163	5.34	335,456	5.03
Dwellings ...	2,592,805	Families....	2,820,912	

ASSESSED VALUATION OF PERSONAL AND REAL PROPERTY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

	Total Amount.	Average
Ohio	$1,534,360,508	$484.20
Indiana	856,838,472	390.83
Illinois	809,682,473	211.61
Michigan	898,155,532	428.94
Wisconsin	577,066,232	342.09
Total	$4,676,103,216	$1,857.66

The total value of the property in the Northwest Territory in 1890 was the magnificent sum of $4,676,103,216. The lowest average per person was in Illinois, where it was $211.61 for every man, woman and child.

TOTAL AMOUNT EXPENDED FOR EDUCATION IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

	Amount.
Ohio	$12,473,295
Indiana	6,636,756
Illinois	15,635,867
Michigan	5,872,950
Wisconsin	5,246,192
Total amount	$45,865,060

DAILY AVERAGE ATTENDANCE OF PUPILS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

Ohio	597,925
Indiana	401,702
Illinois	324,623
Michigan	271,000
Wisconsin	261,000
	1,856,150

TEACHERS AND SALARIES IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Ohio	10,305	14,875	25,180
Indiana	7,130	7,754	14,884
Illinois	7,057	18,350	25,417
Michigan	3,634	12,379	16,013
Wisconsin	2,440	9,894	12,334
Total	13,131	40,623	53,764

Average salary of men, $47.37 per month.
Total salary of men, $1,447,901.42 per month.
Average salary of women, $40.24 per month.
Total salary of women, $2,243,308.48 per month.
Grand total, $3,691,209.90.

SCHOOL AND MILITIA AGES IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—1890.

	School Ages	Militia Ages
Illinois	1,323,030	862,635
Indiana	785,172	455,323
Michigan	703,684	462,765
Ohio	1,271,031	767,975
Wisconsin	603,846	347,469
Grand total	4,686,763	2,886,667

VOTING AGES, MALES 21 YEARS AND OVER IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—1890.

	White.	Colored.
Illinois	1,054,469	18,200
Indiana	581,987	13,070
Michigan	611,008	6,437
Ohio	990,542	25,922
Wisconsin	459,893	1,829
Grand total	3,697,899	61,458

THE MAIN CEREAL CROPS OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

1897—CORN.

	Acres	Bushel	Value.
Ohio	2,835,864	92,165,580	$23,041,395
Michigan	990,511	31,201,096	8,424,296
Indiana	3,660,844	109,825,320	23,063,317
Illinois	7,167,018	232,928,085	48,914,898
Wisconsin	1,019,551	33,615,183	8,411,296
Total	14,673,788	499,765,264	$111,855,202

1897 — OATS.

	Acres	Bushel	Value.
Ohio	934,606	29,907,392	$5,981,478
Michigan	882,325	22,940,450	5,276,304
Indiana	1,116,112	33,706,582	6,404,251
Illinois	2,899,953	92,798,496	16,703,729
Wisconsin	1,827,215	62,125,310	11,803,809
Total	1,660,211	241,478,230	$46,169,571

1897 — WHEAT.

	Acres	Bushel	Value.
Ohio	2,251,428	38,049,133	$33,483,237
Michigan	1,519,240	23,700,144	20,619,125
Indiana	2,573,477	32,675,201	29,080,929
Illinois	1,465,570	11,578,003	10,304,423
Wisconsin	615,262	7,690,775	6,460,251
Total	8,338,977	113,703,256	$99,947,965
		241,418,230	
		499,765,264	
Grand total		854,886,750	

The Northwest Territory furnished the following troops in 1861-65:

	No. of Men Furnished.	No. for 3 years.	Colored.
Ohio	313,190	240,514	5,035
Indiana	196,363	153,576	1,597
Illinois	259,092	214,133	1,841
Michigan	87,364	80,111	1,387
Wisconsin	9,134	79,260	155
Total	927,326	767,594	10,015

Total number of colored soldiers in the war from 1861-65, 186,917.

The Northwest Territory furnishes the following number of Congressmen:

Ohio	21
Indiana	13
Illinois	22
Michigan	12
Wisconsin	10
Total	78
U. S. Senators	10
Total	88

Church Denominations in the Northwest Territory.

CONGREGATIONAL—1890.

	Churches	Min.	Members	Am,t Raised
Ohio	257	195	38,544	$351,502
Indiana	58	38	4,589	45,098
Illinois	360	280	48,896	571,655
Michigan	374	272	32,377	269,441
Wisconsin	252	185	22,085	210,196
Total	1,265	940	146,491	$1,427,893

PRESBYTERIAN—1890.

	Organizations.	Churches.	Valuation.	Communicants.
Ohio	820	849	$6,722,875	103,607
Indiana	389	412	4,649,410	77,213
Illinois	752	736	4,640,410	43,351
Michigan	252	243	2,242,236	25,931
Wisconsin	140	150	1,504,355	14,154
Total	2,361	2,390	$19,259,286	266,259

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL.

	Organizations.	Churches.	Valuation.	Communicants.
Ohio	109	106	$2,103,487	17,711
Indiana	65	61	537,600	5,185
Illinois	196	189	2,343,075	20,854
Michigan	191	177	1,653,651	18,136
Wisconsin	133	117	1,035,978	10,457
Total	694	730	$7,673,791	72,343

BAPTIST—1898.

	Churches	Min	Members	Valuation	Am't Contributed
Ohio	636	555	71,980	$2,929,821	$418,663 49
Indiana	583	371	62,618	1,523,175	208,778 40
Illinois	1,129	881	115,991	24,139,153	684,334 61
Michigan	456	386	45,685	2,183,426	292,348 81
Wisconsin.	220	166	19,717	970,255	165,109 35
Total	3,024	2,359	314,991	$11,745,830	$1,768,634 75

METHODIST—1898.

	Org	Ch	Val Pro	Mem	Min
Ohio	2,340	2,296	$8,749,970	240,650	1,205
Indiana	1,618	1,585	4,243,180	162,480	767
Illinois	1,903	1,779	7,046,786	165,191	1,312
Michigan	1,085	894	3,730,850	86,958	734
Wisconsin	706	623	1,791,900	41,360	438
Total...	7,652	5,592	$25,562,686	697,599	4,456

CATHOLIC CHURCH.

	Organizations.	Churches.	Valuation.	Communicnats
Ohio	586	515	$7,395,640	336,114
Indiana	311	303	3,534,691	419,100
Illinois	690	666	9,946,819	475,474
Michigan	400	360	3,671,350	222,261
Wisconsin	650	623	4,873,270	249,829
Total	2,637	2,467	$29,421,770	1,702,778

After examining the material progress and prosperity of the Northwest Territory, and finding such wonderful advancements and multiplication of interests, we could not close without looking at the relation of the Northwest Territory as a standard toward the national government. First, as administrators, presidents of the United States, and members of cabinets and Supreme Judges.

The following list will be an astonishment to most persons who have not followed the influence that the Northwest has had upon the politics and administrations of our government. Not only has this section influence in the successes of our country, but in time of war there was no section that furnished a larger number of soldiers, and no section furnished so many eminent generals as did the Northwest. The Northwest furnished us with Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, and a number of others equally as honorable and heroic, but we give you the list.

Presidents.

1841 — W. H. Harrison, Ohio.
1861 — Abraham Lincoln, Illinois.
1869 — U. S. Grant, Point Pleasant, O.
1877 — R. B. Hayes, Delaware, Ohio.
1881 — James A. Garfield, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio.
1889 — Benjamin Harrison, North Bend, Ohio.
1897 — Wm. McKinley, Niles, Ohio.

Vice Presidents.

1869 — Indiana, Schuyler Colfax.
1885 — Indiana — Thos. A. Hendricks.
1893 — Illinois — Adlai Stevenson.

Presidents pro tem. of Senate.

1854–57 — Indiana, Jesse D. Bright.
1867–69, Ohio, Benj. F. Wade.
1873–75, Wisconsin, M. H. Carpenter.
1875–79, Michigan, Thos. F. Ferry.
1879–81, Ohio, A. G. Thurman.
1881–83, Illinois, David Davis.
1885–87, Ohio, John Sherman.

Justices Supreme Caurt.

Ohio, 1829–61 — John McLean.
Ohio, 1861–81 — Noah H. Swayne.
Ill., 1862–77 — David Davis.
Ohio, 1864–73 — Salmon P. Chase.
Ohio, 1874–88 — Morrison R. Waite.
Ohio, 1881–89 — Stanley Matthews.
Ill., 1888– — Melville W. Fuller.
Mich., 1890– — Henry B. Brown.

Speakers of House of Representatives.

Ind., 1845–47 — John W. Davis.
Ind., 1863–69 — Schuyler Colfax.
Ind., 1875–76 — Michael Kerr.
Ohio, 1881–83 — John W. Keifer.

CABINET OFFICERS.

Secretaries of State.

Mich., 1857 — Lewis Cass.
Ill., 1869 — Elihu B. Washburn.
Ind., 1892 — John W. Foster.
Ill., 1893 — Walter Q. Gresham.
Ohio, 1897 — John Sherman.
Ohio, 1897 — Wm. R. Day.
Ohio, 1898 — John Hay.

Secretaries of Treasury.

Ohio, 1841 — Thomas Ewing.
Ohio, 1850 — Thomas Corwin.
Ohio, 1861 — Salmon P. Chase
Ind., 1865 — Hugh McCulloch.
Ohio, 1877 — John Sherman.
Ind., 1884 — W. Q. Gresham.
Ind., 1884 — Hugh McCulloch.
Ohio, 1891 — Charles Foster.
Ill., 1897 — Lyman J. Gage.

Secretaries of War.

Ohio, 1831 — Lewis Cass.
Ohio, 1841 — John McLean.
Ohio, 1862 — Edwin M. Stanton.
Ill., 1867 — U. S. Grant (ad in.)
Ill., 1868 — Lor Thomas (ad in.)
Ill., 1869 — J. A. Rawlins.
Ohio, 1869 — W. T. Sherman.
Ohio, 1876 — Alphonso Taft.
Ill., 1881 — Robert T. Lincoln.
Mich., 1897 — Russell A. Alger.

Secretaries of Interior.

Ohio, 1849 — Thomas Ewing.
Mich., 1853 — Robert McClelland.
Ind., 1861 — Caleb B. Smith.
Ill., 1866 — Orv. H. Browning.
Ohio, 1869 — Jacob D. Cox.
Ohio, 1870 — Columbus Delano.
Mich., 1875 — Zachariah Chandler.
Wis., 1888 — W. F. Vilas.

Secretary of Navy.

Ind., 1877 — R. W. Thompson.

Secretary of Agriculture.

Wis., 1889 — Jeremiah M. Rusk.

Postmaster Generals.

Ohio, 1814 — Return J. Meigs, Jr.
Ohio, 1817 — Return J. Meigs, Jr.
Ohio, 1823 — John McLean.
Ohio, 1825 — John McLean.
Ohio, 1864 — Wm. Dennison.
Ohio, 1865 — Wm. Dennison.
Wis., 1866 — A. W. Randall.
Ind., 1876 — J. N. Tyner.
Wis., 1881 — T. O. Howe.
Ind., 1883 — W. Q. Gresham.
Wis., 1885 — Wm. F. Vilas.
Mich., 1888 — Don. M. Dickinson.

Attorney Generals.

Ohio, 1860 — Edwin M. Stanton.
Ohio, 1866 — Henry Stansberry.
Ohio, 1876 — Alphonso Taft.
Ind., 1889 — Wm. H. H. Miller.
Ohio, 1895 — Judson Harmon.

Diplomatic Appointments from the Northwest Territory.

GREAT BRITAIN.

U. S. Grant: 1870, Robert C. Schenck, Ohio.
B. Harrison: 1889: Robert T. Lincoln, Illinois.
William McKinley: 1897, John Hay, Ambassador, Ohio.

FRANCE.

A. Jackson: 1836, Lewis Cass, Michigan.
Martin Van Buren: 1837, Lewis Cass, Michigan.
John Taylor: 1841, Lewis Cass, Michigan.
John Taylor: 1842, Henry Ledgard, Charge d'Affairs, Ohio.
A. Johnson: 1866, John Hay, Charge d'Affairs, Illinois.
U. S. Grant: 1869, E. B. Washburn, Illinois.
R. B. Hayes: 1877, E. F. Noyes, Ohio.

AUSTRIA.

A. Johnson: 1867, John Hay, Charge d'Affairs, Illinois.
U. S. Grant: 1875, Godlove S. Orth, Indiana.
C. A. Arthur: 1882, Alphonso Taft, Ohio.
Wm. McKinley: 1899, Addison Harris, Indiana.

RUSSIA.

R. B. Hayes: 1879, John W. Foster, Indiana.
J. A. Garfield: 1880, John W. Foster, Indiana.
C. A. Arthur: 1884, Alphonso Taft, Ohio.
Grover Cleveland: 1888, Lambart Tree, Illinois.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

Grover Cleveland: 1885, George H. Pendleton, Ohio.
Grover Cleveland: 1896, E. F. Ehul, Michigan.

ITALY.

Grover Cleveland: 1885, John Stallo, Ohio.
Benjamin Harrison: 1889, Albert G. Porter, Indiana.

SPAIN.

A. Lincoln: 1861, Carl Schurtz, Wisconsin.
A. Lincoln: 1862, Gustaves Krener, Illinois.
R. B. Hayes: 1880, L. Fairchilds, Wisconsin.
J. A. Garfield: 1880, L. Fairchilds, Wisconsin.
C. A. Arthur: 1883, John W. Foster, Indiana.
B. Harrison: 1889, Thomas W. Palmer, Michigan.
William McKinley: 1898, Bellamy Storer, Ohio.

In looking over the achievements of the century and of the Northwestern Territory, we find that the greatest results in the literary world, as well as the commercial world, have been accomplished in the Northwestern Territory. In the moral and religious world, among the organization of the activities for the betterment of mankind, there is none that occupies a more prominent place than the Uniform Lesson system of the Sunday schools of the world.

That system which enables more than twenty-five million men, women and children to study the same lesson, recite the same outlines and commit the same golden text on one Sunday. This was born in the Northwestern Territory, as well as its half-brother, the great Chautauqua movement of the world. It is a child of the Rock River Conference, and the Union of the Sunday-schools of the world is the work of that eminent son of the Northwestern Territory, B. F. Jacobs, of Chicago.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a legitimate child of the Temperance Crusade, begun at Hillsboro, Ohio. The success of this organization is marvellous. The influence it has exerted among the statesmen and scholars is such that today the danger signal is hung over the door way of every school house throughout our land, and the evils of intemperance upon the human system is taught by the authority of our National and State Governments. Thus the Northwestern Territory has produced through her distinguished daughter, Frances Willard, the greatest moral and religious organization among the women of the world. All honor to the women who have organized forces in the defense of home and native land.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was built in the North Western Territory. It was constructed at Lane Seminary, at Walnut Hills, Ohio, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. That book had a wonderful sale and a marvelous circulation. It is translated in every language of the world and in scores of dialects bearing the burden of the slave and pleading for universal liberty.

Another child of the Northwest was the World's Columbian Exposition, unsurpassed in the century by any exposition on the western or eastern hemisphere, while the Parliament of Religion was conducted by the son of the northwest, who was

wise enough to lay the foundation so broad and strong that the children of God of every clime, nation, kindred and tongue could meet on the level and worship the one God,—the universal Father.

The forces of our civilization are marshaling for the grand view of the 20th century. It is well for this magnificent city, and the magnificent Northwest, to have this preliminary meeting to examine into the assets of our past and present, so that, as we enter the gate of the 20th century, our forces will stand the inspection, will hold the post of honor in the procession of nations; with dignity, power and influence as the country where freedom has built her altar, and where liberty has taken her successful stand against oppression, and shall enter the 20th century with banners flying and with triumphant procession.

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

The A. M. E. church was organized in the Northwest Territory as early as 1824. It was started in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 4th, 1824, by the Rev. Moses Freeman. It was organized in Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1821. The first African Methodist Episcopal Conference organized west of the Allegheny mountains was August, 1830, at Hillsborough, Ohio, Bishop Morris Brown presiding. The Rev. Lewis Woodson was its secretary. The church has grown until today the following annual conferences are held in the Northwest Territory: Ohio, organized in 1830; Indiana, organized in 1840 at Blue River, by Bishop Morris Brown; Illinois, organized in 1872, by Bishop James A. Shorter; Iowa, organized in —— by Bishop M. D. Ward; Michigan, organized at Battle Creek, in 1889 by Bishop J. P. Campbell.

The following statistics will show the development of the moral and religious growth of the church among the colored people for whom it was established:

The Northwest Territory has the following African Methodist Episcopal annual conferences: Ohio, North Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and part of Iowa, with 12 presiding elders, 434 itinerant ministers, who received as a salary last year, $97,645.54. They administered to 317 churches, with a valuation of $3,016,-

317.48. Members and probationers, 28,935, who contributed for all purposes during the year $300,403.90.

In every church there is a Sunday-school properly organized studying the lesson systems and contributing for religious purposes according to their ability.

The liberal provision made for the public schools of the Northwest Territory makes it possible to ascertain the number of children of the race attending school.

The Rev. Lewis Woodson has the first honor of offering the first resolution in an annual conference in behalf of Christian education and Christian temperance. In 1831 he offered a resolution which was adopted by the eastern conferences of the church, and since that time resolutions have continued to be passed, and the Ohio annual conferences lead in the work of education.

In 1843 a resolution was offered in the Ohio annual conference appointing a committee to purchase grounds for a Manual Labor School. The committee reported in 1844, and in 1845 the annual conference purchased a farm on Darby Creek, in Franklin county, Ohio, of 160 acres, where they established the Manual Labor School, the first school of the kind organized on the American continent for the education of the colored race. The school properly was organized in 1847, in Columbus, Ohio, by Rev. John M. Brown. Mrs. Frances Ellen Watkins was the first teacher. Thus began the educational work in the A. M. E. church and the banner work of the moral and religious training of the Negroes of the Northwest Territory. Out of the Manual Labor School at Columbus has grown Wilberforce University and all the departments it now contains.

Wilberforce University was established by the joint work of the A. M. E. and the M. E. churches in 1856. In 1863 Wilberforce was purchased by the A. M. E. church and began its independent career in the educational world. It has grown in usefulness, in power and influence, until today the African Methodist Episcopal Church has the magnificent result as seen in the following figures:

The total number of students attending Wilberforce from 1863 to 1876 under the administration of Daniel A. Payne was 1554. The average attendance was 119,54-100.

The total number of students attending Wilberforce from 1876 to 1884 under the administration of B. F. Lee was 1179. The average attendance was 147.

The total number of students attending Wilberforce from 1884 to 1899 under the administration of S. T. Mitchell was 3058. The average attendance was 203.

The grand total attendance is 5788. The average attendance 160, 7-9.

Bishop D. A. Payne was President from 1863 to 1876. Total money raised $92,784.92. An average per year of $7,137.30.

Bishop Lee was President from 1876 to 1884. Total receipts, $70,202.80. An average per year of $9,900.35.

Rev. S. T. Mitchell was President from 1884 to 1899. Total receipts, $232,177.05. An average per year of $14,511.06.

Grand total receipts, from 1863 to 1899, $404,164.77. An average for 34 years of $11,226.70 per year.

Total receipts for the Normal and Industrial Department from 1887 to 1899, $174,059.73.

Total receipts for Payne Theological Seminary from 1891 to 1899, $27,746.85.

Great grand total from all sources for all the Departments, $596,971.35.

My Fellow Countrymen:—I have been fortunate in discussing the subject of good citizenship. It was my privilege in 1895 to discuss the subject in Boston on Good Citizens' Day, a day that will be long remembered by those who participated in the proceedings, or witnessed the baptism of patriotism that fell upon the multitude.

At twelve o'clock midday, July 10, the citizens of Boston, and thousands and ten thousands of strangers marched through the streets, or rode on the street cars, all singing the National anthem, "My country, 'tis of Thee." At one time there were at least fifty thousand people singing the Nation's hymn, and in Boston Commons they had assembled to hear the words of patriotism and words relating to human liberty, and beneath the shadow of Bunker Hill, and in the presence of the monument dedicated to Crispus Attucks, Coldwell, Mevarick and Gray, men, women and children dedicated themselves anew to the

principles of our government and to our institutions. The author of the hymn, "My Country 'tis of Thee," was present and joined in with the multitude in consecrating themselves to Good Citizenship and Christian Citizenship.

Again it was my pleasure to meet you, Father Clark, in front of the Nation's Capitol in the presence of the Chief Executive of the Nation, and in the presence of the Supreme Judges of our land, with sixty thousand children of all nations and races; and there I joined them in singing, "The Star Spangled Banner, Long May it Wave o'er the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave." Christian Endeavor stands for Good Citizenship.

Again in 1897, you and I met at the Inter-Mountain gathering at Salt Lake City, in the tabernacle of the Latter Day Saints, with twelve thousand American citizens around the altars of patriotism and religion, and there on the holy Sabbath day, and the Fourth of July, the Sabbath of religion and the Sabbath day of patriotism met, and we consecrated ourselves to our country and its institutions; and then we took up our march, and in San Francisco, on Vanness Avenue, the Good Citizens' Meeting was held, and I remember, sir, when the representatives of Australia and Canada joined hands with us around the common altar of humanity and we dedicated ourselves to the greater citizenship of the common wealth of Christianity.

In 1898, at the Exposition Hall in Nashville, the blue and the gray met together, Gen. O. O. Howard and Gen. J. T. Morgan, of the Union army joined hands with Gen. Evans of the Confederate army, and the blue and the gray met together and shook hands over the bloody chasm; and you will remember the scene that followed when Bishop Fitzgerald, of the Methodist Episcopal church South, arose, and he and I clasped hands beneath the stars and stripes, and the black and the white, and the blue and the gray, met together around the common altars of religion, patriotism and humanity.

NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTURE OF ABEL JANNEY BY THE INDIANS IN 1782.[1]

FROM THE DIARY OF ABEL JANNEY.

On the 12th day of March 1782, about break of day, as I and my two companions were lying in our blankets about half a mile from the Ohio river, on the Indian's side, near the mouth of the Great Kenhaway[2] river. We were surprised by a shout of Indians who came rushing upon us. When I heard the noise I spoke to my two companions and said "rise up here are Indians," when one of them said "Oh Lord, what shall we do." I told him to stand and fight. I was near the Indians, and four of them and a white man had their guns presented upon us as we rose within fifteen yards of us. I caught hold of my gun as quick as I possibly could, and fired upon them; my two companions did not take my advice, but ketched up their guns and ran. The Indians fired at the instant I did, but to no effect. The white man's gun missed fire the first time, but he made ready and fired after one of my companions and killed him, when one of them stept up to me with his tomahawk in his hand to kill me, but I turned the Britch of my gun and made a blow at him, but he avoided it by stepping back, when immediately the other four drew their tomahawks and were all around me and one of them spoke to me in English, and told me to give up and I should not be hurt. I then handed him my gun and they took hold of me and tied me exceedingly fast. The other Indian ran after the other of my companions and caught him, but he

[1] Abel Janney was a resident of Goose Creek neighborhood (now Lincoln), Loudoun County, Virginia. He was of a roving disposition, often engaged in hunting or "trapping," and it was while on a trapping excursion that he was captured. Colman Wilks and John Russell were with him. Wilks was shot. Russell escaped and reached the settlements in Kentucky, but was so badly frozen and prostrated that he lived but a few days. Tradition says that A. J. was employed at Washington as interpreter — John J. Janney, Columbus, Ohio.

[2] I have followed the spelling and the punctuation of the original.

escaped and got off, leaving his gun with the Indian, and had no clothes except a waistcoat, and Breeches and a pair of stockings, not even so much as a knife to help himself with. The Indian soon returned with his gun to where I and the rest of the company were, when I had to stand and see my other companion scalpt and had all reason imaginable to expect myself to be the next victim of their cruelty as they began to gather around me and looked very much exasperated but God, who is all-sufficient to preserve, did not permit them to hurt me. So they tied a string around my neck, and the white man led me and put a heavy load of provisions upon my back and we traveled exceedingly fast all that day and two days after we came to an Indian camp, where some Indians were hunting. When we came near the camp they made a halt, and painted me red and the white man that killed my companion painted himself black, and then gave the scalp Halloo, so we went on until we passed the camp a small distance. The Indians had not as yet returned from hunting, but we had scarce got fire kindled, when we saw the Indians returning from hunting. When my Indians saw them they immediately cut three large stakes and shaved off the bark, and painted two of them red, and the other black, and I was tied very fast they immediately came to our camp, and my Indians (as I called them) were all set down in a row, except one who came and sat by me, the strange Indians shook hands with them immediately and sat themselves down and smoked, and talked a long time, at last they began to make hoops to stretch my companions scalp upon as they had not yet done it, when they had done it they made another and stuck it up before the fire. The little Indian who sat by me pointed at it and said "no good for you," which gave me all the reason imaginable to expect to be massacred. However, I was fully resigned to give up my life to Him that gave it, when it should please God to call it from me, however, some time in the night, the Squaws brought a quantity of roast Bears meet, and they gave me some to eat, and made me to understand that I should see them at their town, so I eat some of their meat, and they tied me very fast, and I laid down to sleep, and next morning early, they started forward on their way and nothing extraordinary hap-

pened until we arrived at their town, when we came there, there was nobody in the town but a few old squaws, the rest of the Indians were all at their sugar camps making sugar, which was well for me, for had they been at home in all probability I should have been exceedingly ill treated, as it is a general practice with that nation to whip prisoners most barbarously at their first coming into town, or at least till they can get into the Council House. It was on the 20th of March when we got to the town and the old Indian who kept me, took me home, from the Council House, to his own wigwam, where I lived till I made my escape from them. But to speak of the barbarities committed by them on the prisoners that came in after me (fully to express it is beyond my discriptive abilities) I shall fall short of words sufficient to convey a full idea of what they must have suffered who were permitted to fall as victims to their savage barbarity. The first who was put to death was one James Whart, a Quaker, who appeared to be a sober, solid man. They had kept him about two weeks before they put him to death, and he had not the least expectation of it until they took him and painted him black, which they did very early in the morning and tied him securely; they then led him off to a town three miles distant from the town I lived in, and there they gathered to have a Frolic with this poor object of pity. They led him up to a large stake near a large fire prepared for the purpose, and when they had scalped him and cut his nose off that it hung below his under lip, and then they cut off his ears, and took bark shovels and threw hot embers out of the fire upon his head, whilst others were employed in burning him with fire brands, in short they lacked nothing that they could invent to augment his pain and many others suffered in a most barbarous manner, particularly Colonel Crawford, who was unhappily defeated by them, and fell a victim into their hands, and suffered as follows, (viz) they first scalped him, and then they tied him fast to a stake before a large fire made of logs of wood for that purpose and then cut out his tongue and cut off his nose and ears and then poured hot embers out of the fire upon his head, whilst others were employed in burning him with long fire brands, and none were more active in this employment that the squaws

indeed my memory fails me in recollecting the many inventions they contrived to punish so brave a man, who bore all they could inflict upon him with such a calmness and fortitude as seemed to be surprising to human nature.[3] His son-in-law John Harrison also fell into their hands and was most barbarously murdered but seemed to be much assured that he should find a merciful Saviour and seemed to be very fervent in his supplications. He did not in the least seem to dread their severest threats of torture, but seemed to be fully resigned to the will of his Creator, and desired me (if it should please God to bring me home again) to inform his wife that I saw his end and likewise to desire her and her children to live a more circumspect life than they had done heretofore. So I shall cease to enumerate any more of their barbarities and turn again to my own concerns.

It was about midnight on the 2nd of August that I was preparing myself with necessaries to make my escape from these savages or die in the attempt, though I was sore by reason of a cut on my ankle, I did not mind it, for I thought nothing should deter me from making an attempt. I thought to make up the deficiency

[3] All the short biographies of Colonel Crawford that I have seen state that he was "burned to death," thus leaving the reader to infer that he was burned at the stake according to the old religious method of dealing with heretics, but that was humane in comparison with the Indian method. The former released the sufferer in a few minutes; the latter was usually prolonged through a day, or sometimes parts of two days. Butterfield, in the History of Crawford's Campaign, says: "The Indian men took up their guns and shot powder into Crawford's naked body from his feet as far up as his neck. It was the opinion of Knight that not less than seventy-five loads were discharged upon him." Knight, who was present, says: "The fire was made of small hickory poles burnt quite through in the middle," and "three or four Indians would by turns take up, individually, one of these pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with powder." The squaws poured hot coals on his head "so that, in a short time he had nothing but coals and hot ashes to walk on." There used to be a tradition that one method of Indian torture was to stick sharp, short splinters all over the naked body of the victim, and set them on fire. As an evidence of fortitude, in my boyhood, we would stick a short piece of broom-straw in the hand, at the base of thumb, set it on fire and let it burn out. The pain was very acute, and we would try to imagine what it would be if the whole body was covered.

of my ankle by depriving myself with a good horse, which I was unfortunately deprived of in the following manner. I had every necessary but a gun, which was my dependance, both for defense and provision. The men about this time were chiefly gone to Kentucky to war, and there was no guns about the house I lived in. I was therefore obliged to make a search for one. I went into one house and found a gun but upon examining her, I did not like her, and so I determined to make further search. I loaded her and went into another house[4] and found the Indians all from home, I searched about and found a prettly likely rifle, I viewed her by the light of the moon, I looked into her pan and found no priming and unfortunately for me I snapt her and she went off and the firing of the gun at this time of night was a sufficient alarm. I ran into the cornfields which was but a few steps off. I loaded my gun again, and broke the other that I had before, and by this time the whole town was alarmed, and the horse that I intended to have taken was standing by the Council House in the midst of the town, and so were most of the horses belonging to the town and I could by no means get any of them. And what had like to have been worse for me, my provision and Blanket, Saddle and Bridle were in a tent, (where I staid to watch the garden to keep the other Indians from stealing the garden stuff) quite on the other side of the town from where I was but as soon as I had loaded my gun I gave a Halloo to draw them to the side of the town where I was, I then made the best of my way through the corn till I came to the backside of the town, so I went into my tent, picked up my provision and Blanket and Bridle, leaving the saddle, for I discovered three Indians coming into the garden and I took into the corn again and went a little way, made a stop, fixed my load to the best advantage I possibly could and then I heard a horse bell a considerable distance from the town. I made to it, and found several horses, but I could not catch any but one, which proved to be very indifferent, however I knew I had no time to spare I therefore put on my bridle and mounted, and

[4] The writer doubtless used "house" instead of tent or "wigwam." The Indians had not learned how to build houses, and did not feel the need of them.

rode on steering an east course till about one o'clock in the afternoon, when my horse seemed so tired and lazy withal, though I had not rode him very fast that I concluded to turn him out, and go on foot, as I knew they would pursue me on horse back, but by going carefully on foot, I put a stop to their pursuing with any speed. I changed my course from due east to south-east and so I traveled for that day. I then steered as directly for Fort Wheeling as I possibly could, I met with no interruption till the 8th in the morning I found the cut in my ankle so painful with wading through swamps, that I thought it almost impossible for me to travel and so exceedingly swelled that I had a notion of lying by that day, as I had plenty of venison to subsist upon, for the evening before I had killed a deer, and barbacued as much of it as I thought necessary to take with me. But however I thought I was then within 40 or 50 miles of fort Wheeling the thoughts of relief from the Inhuman Savages gave me such a sweet satisfaction, that I was determined to travel on lame as I was but I had not traveled past two hours before I met with a company of Tawwa[5] Indians. We did not discover each other until we were within 20 yards. It was just on the top of a ridge we met. I treed myself immediately, and knowing that I was exceedingly lame that I could not run, I called out as if there had been company behind me, telling them "here's the yellow dogs and we will soon do for them," and presented my gun on one of them, and they gave a yell, and one of them shot at me, but only grazed me under the arm. I then perceived that they were of a strange nation, I called to them in Shawney[6] and told them I was one of them. One of them understanding that tongue answered me "that he was Tawwa and was good," and if I would surrender he would take me to Detroit. I accordingly surrendered, and throwing the breech of my gun foremost I came out from behind my tree and he immediately ran to meet me, holding out his hand, when we met we shook hands with each other, and he called me "brother warrior," and assured me he would take me to Detroit. He told me he knew I was run away from the Shawnese, which I did not deny, and told

[5] Ottawas probably.
[6] Shawnese.

them in what sort they had used me, and when I had told him, he damned them saying "they were not good, he would not use prisoners so." They then inquired if there were any more behind me, I told them there was none, so they examined my track a distance back, and seen there was no other, then they concluded I had told them the truth. We then marched straight for a town called Sandusky, belonging to the Wyandot nation. I had the chief part of a good turn with me which we eat up immediately and that was the last mouthful we had, but Blackberries for almost four days, when one of them happened to kill a wolf, which was roasted and eat up speedily, they took the entrails out and stripping the stuff from them between their fingers and threw them on the coals when roasted a little they offered me some, but as hungry as I was my stomach revolted at it; they devoured them like dogs. They cut some slices from the body and broiled on the coals which they eat heartily of and this was the last supply we had, until we came to the before-mentioned town of Sandusky, which was one and a half day's march. When we came near the town, they made a halt, and began to talk in their tongue. I perceived it was something concerning me, when the Chief of the company turned about to me, and told me that he must cut my hair in their form, or else those Indians that lived in the town would beat me very much, and perhaps kill me. So he took a pair of scissors which they always take with them to war, and began to trim my hair, which they did according to the Indian custom then they painted me and fixed me as much like themselves as they possibly could, and gave my own gun, and we marched to the town with two scalps on a stick; and came into it. When the Indians of the town (as their custom is), brought us victuals, such as they had, which was very acceptable to us, having eat nothing for almost two days. From thence we went most part of the way by water in a canoe, till the wind blew so hard against us, that we were obliged to quit our canoe, and take to our feet again, and had exceedingly bad roads, which was very bad for my ankle; though it was got much better than it was when I first met with them, as they were very good doctors, and spared no pains to dress it, but we had many swamps to go through and it began to swell and get very painful. However

we came to the village where they lived on the 16th day of August and I expected to be beat after the manner of the savages I had lived with before, but I was kindly treated very unexpectedly for the chief sat down by an old squaw, whom he talked with for a long time, and after he had made a stop in speaking to her she looked at me as I was standing, and clapped her hand down on the ground where she sat, showing me that I must sit down by her, and began to tell me that it was her son who had taken me, that she had one more at war yet, and now I was to be her son also, and so gave me some victuals, water melons and apples, and pitied me very much seeing that I was so exceedingly poor. She said the Shawnees were not good for using prisoners so. I remained there for two weeks and was kindly treated by them, having nothing to do, but cut a little wood for the fire, and shoot Blackbirds that came to eat up the corn, and according to their aforesaid promise, they carried me to Detroit, where we arrived on the 3rd of September, 1782, where I was given up to one agent Bailey, who sent me with a soldier to Major Depasture[7] commander in Chief of the garrison, where I remained in close confinement till the 22nd and then I embarked on board the Dunmore sloop of war, when we kept round by Lake Erie 18[8] miles to fort Slusher[9] which is called 300 miles from Detroit. From thence we went to Fort Niagara, 18 miles further which lies about 16 miles below the falls of that great river, (which they say were measured and are 360 feet high[10]) from thence we embarked on board the Seneca sloop of war, on October the 9th and arrived the 11th at Carleton's Island (which is 83 leagues across Lake Ontario) where we were kept on board a guard ship till the 24th, when we embarked in battoes for Sew Gurche[11]

[7] Major A. S. De Peyster, a British officer, in command at Detroit at the time, a grandson of J. W. De Peyster, a leading Dutch settler of New York.

[8] This is erroneous or indefinite. He says it "is called 300 miles from Detroit.

[9] Fort Schlosher, opposite the fort of Grand Isle.

[10] Really 160 feet, or, according to some authorities, the American side is 164 feet, and the Canadian side 150 feet.

[11] I cannot identify this Sue; suppose it to be a mispronounced French name, which has disappeared from the maps.

which is 30 leagues, we arrived there the 25th in the evening, and proceeded the next morning in our Battoes, and went down a dangerous rapid called the Long Sew,[12] which is reported to run at the rapid rate of 9 miles in 20 minutes. We arrived at Cateawde Lake[13] the 28th which is 30 leagues from the aforesaid place. From thence to Lasheen[14] is 26 miles, and next morning to Montreal 9 miles, by land where we arrived the 28th and continued there in close confinement until the 28th of December when we were sent back to Cateawde lake. We came there the same day and in two days after we were put upon an island with a guard of Dutch soldiers, which place was prepared for keeping prisoners, with a number of ordinary Barracks and it stands in the midst of such riffles in the river as renders it almost impossible to get off from thence. It was on the 28th day of January when I obtained my permit to teach school for the children of the officers of the garrison and the merchants with whom I lived till my releasement, which was on the morning of the 7th of July 1783; we left Cateawde Lake and from thence round to New York and from thence to Loudoun County Virginia, my native home.

[12] Long Sue.

[13] Cateawde Lake. This, I presume, was Lake St. Francis, an expansion of the St. Lawrence river.

[14] Lachine.

WILLIAM EVES MOORE.

1823—1899.

William Eves Moore, D. D., LL. D., was born in Strasburg, Pa., April 1st, 1823. His parents, Jacob Moore, M. D., (University of Pennsylvania, 1818), and Sarah Faris Moore, came of Scotch-Irish ancestors, who after the siege of Derry migrated to the northern part of Newcastle county, Delaware, and for generations held office in the same Presbyterian church and owned the original farm land given by grant of Wm. Penn. Returning from Strasburg to Delaware, Dr. Moore's father died when this, his eldest son, was six years of age.

With two sisters older, and a brother younger, there then began for him all the vicissitudes in life of a fatherless boy.

From the home of paternal grandparents in Mill Creek Hundred, he first attended school in New London, and at ten years of age was trudging on foot over hills and country roads to Newark Academy. At twelve and a half years he is a druggist's apprentice in Philadelphia, laying in stores of practical knowledge to be of use on battlefields in later life.

Following this came a service of one campaign in the war with the Seminoles in Florida, where first he served his country in arms and his fellow-soldiers with care of the sick and dying.

Next were a few years upon a farm—a signal benefit to his future health, and whether ploughing the field or sowing the wheat his was the expert hand chosen for all difficult tasks. And now there came the call of the Master, first to consecration of heart and life to the service of God, and then to the ministry of the Word. But how should the orphan youth find ways and means for a long course of preparation? Educational opportunities had been few,—of means, he had none. If any part of the life of Dr. Moore was truly heroic and full of Christian trust and gratitude, it was in the eight years' struggle following his decision of this great question. At the end of it, without aid from educational societies, he yet was without a dollar of debt! In

Rev. William Eves Moore, D. D.

ten months, during eight of which he taught a common school, he had progressed from the first page of the Latin grammar into the freshman class of Yale College. From that hour no backward step or look was ever taken, and as in all his future life, honors came soon and often, but hard-earned; and ever the Christian life and influence went on, in prayer-meeting and inquiry-rooms, in Sabbath mission work, and in the sacred privacy of personal intercourse. Approaching his graduation in 1847 he wonders how and where the next door shall open for him. When commencement day comes he has been already six weeks chosen and installed Principal of the Fairfield (Conn.) Academy and Preparatory School. Again he is both teacher and student, for now he enters on the study of theology, under the tuition of that prince among theologians, Dr. Lyman Atwater, later of Princeton.

It was this experience of struggle and accomplishment which gave him such sympathy and helpful interest in young men and women with like aspirations. He early became the friend and patron of educational institutions. He was long in the service as president of the public school board of West Chester and later entered upon a continuous responsibility as trustee and president of the board of trustees of the now great State Normal School of West Chester. For many years previous to his death he was an active and valued member of the boards of trustees of Marietta College, of Lane Theological Seminary and Columbus Medical College.

Dr. Moore was licensed to preach in April, 1850, and was ordained and installed over the First Presbyterian Church, West Chester in October of the same year. He had married a few weeks before to Harriet F., daughter of Rev. George Foot, of Delaware. Outside of the vigorous work of his own pastorate, he did much preaching in the churches of the surrounding country, which labor bore fruit in the organization of several strong churches. For many years, in that first field of his ministerial labors, he preached three times every Sabbath, riding distances of from ten to twenty miles to reach his different appointments.

Often in teachers' institutes, almost constantly tutoring young men for college, ever watchful over the young teachers in

the public schools—he was kept in touch with the lives of teacher and student. Among those who have in whole, or in part, been fitted for college by him were the late Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, Col. H. M. McIntire and Col. George F. Smith.

Dr. Moore was a patriot ever ready to die for his country, if need be. In the early years of the civil war he did noble service at home, staying weak faith, stimulating and helping by every power given him—until the day of Lee's advance upon Pennsylvania, when enlisting in the Chester County Battery, he became a Lieutenant and served during the Gettysburg campaign. Later he did much service for the Christian Commission on various battlefields, and with Bishop Vincent entered Richmond by the first boat going up the James—after the surrender—with supplies for the hungry and suffering.

Later in life, in Columbus, O., where he was pastor and pastor emeritus for twenty-seven years after leaving West Chester, he was made chaplain of the 14th regiment of the Ohio National Guard, and for 19 years shared with them the experiences of camp, and was with them during the Cincinnati riots. He was chaplain of both McCoy and Wells' Grand Army Posts at different times, and of the Ex-Soldiers' and Sailors' Association until his death, and was President of Franklin Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. In the State Archæological and Historical Society of Ohio he was and active member and Vice President. He was also member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"For more than forty years Dr. Moore has been," (as was said of him in the final service in West Chester) "prominent as a leader in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. In Presbytery and Synod, whether in the East or in the Central West, his services were in demand. For seventeen years he was the Stated Clerk of the Synod of Ohio. His abilities, however, early drew the attention of the church as a whole, and in 1855 he was chosen editor of the Digest of the Acts and Deliverance of the General Assembly, a work of great labor and skill, which appeared successively in four large volumes in 1861, 1873, 1886 and 1898.

These volumes are a testimony to the high ability of Dr. Moore as an ecclesiastic and of the great esteem in which he was held by the Church. In consequence of his familiarity with church and civil law, his opinion and counsel was sought from every part of the wide Church, entailing immense labor and time in wholly unpaid service. He served repeatedly upon important committees, took an influential part in the councils of the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance in the meetings respectively at Edinburg, London and Toronto.

Lane Theological Seminary in 1873 gave him the degree of S. T. D., and the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by Lake Forest University in 1890.

He was called to the highest position in the councils of the Presbyterian Church when, in the trying period of its history which marked the meeting of the general assembly at Saratoga in 1890, he was chosen Moderator, the choice of conservatives and liberals alike. This was due not to the idea that he was a man of negative position and convictions, but to a certain judicial constitution of mind and a catholic sympathy with the opinions of others, with which he himself might disagree, and more than all a catholic charity toward all men which made him eager to live in unity and peace with his fellow-men.

The office in which Dr. Moore, however, was most widely known to the Church was that of Permanent Clerk of the General Assembly. He was chosen to this office in the year 1844, and till his death it was his principal duty in connection therewith to keep the records of the Assembly's proceedings. But in addition to the important work of the care of the journal, his knowledge and his wisdom were often in demand by many persons, in particular the Moderators of the Assembly. His counsels were always characterized by good sense and considerateness, and his duties were performed invariably with fidelity and kindness.

The Presbyterian Church to which Dr. Moore rendered such continuous and conspicuous service recognized him as one of its master spirits, and gratefully remembers him as the faithful pastor, preacher and presbyter. The work he has done has been monumental, and the church throughout the country acknowledges its obligations to Dr. Moore and reveres him in memory

as it honored him in life by intrusting so much to his ability and fidelity.

Dr. Moore was a large-hearted man. Everyone who came in touch with him felt his kindly sympathy. He could always be counted upon to do the manly, christian thing, and never anything disagreeable or ungracious. He was truth itself, absolutely reliable in every relation in life. A benevolent rule of his life was that no man should come to him in need and go away without receiving benefit. Dr. Moore was a man of strong mind, kindly and gentle, conscientious in every undertaking, of sound judgment and rare tact, observant and exceptional in his good common sense, a man of deep convictions and benevolent disposition, fair and generous in all his dealings, and, withal, a modest man.

A remarkable group of sons survive their distinguished father. These sons are: Rev. George F. Moore, professor in Andover Theological Seminary; the Rev. Edward C. Moore, pastor Central Congregational Church, Providence, R. I.; the Rev. Charles A. Moore, pastor Congregational Church, Rockland, Me.; Frank G. Moore, professor in Dartmouth College; Henry M. Moore, M. D., surgeon of Ohio Volunteers, and Frederick A. Moore, now engaged in the banking business, New York City.

Dr. William E. Moore was one of the most zealous and influential members which the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has ever had. He was a man of broad and varied culture. Not only was he high authority in the history and doctrines of the church of which he was such a distinguished member, but he was a ripe scholar in literature and the sciences. The subject of archæology was one in which he took keen delight, and the writer of this note has spent many of his most pleasurable and profitable hours in the company of Dr. Moore in visits to localities of archæological interest. For ten years previous to his death Dr. Moore was not only a trustee and member of the executive committee of this Society, but he was also its vice-president, and gave freely of his valuable time and wise judgment to the direction of the work of the Society.

He died in Columbus, Ohio, on June 5th, 1899, at a little over seventy-six years of age.

FORTS LORAMIE AND PICKAWILLANY.

BY R. W. MCFARLAND, LL. D.

One of the functions of an Historical Society is, or at least, ought to be, to criticize doubtful and inexact statements in works professing to be History, and where practicable, to make known the truth.

Let us apply this principle to some of the statements made by different writers in reference to the places named at the head of this article. But first it is well to give the location of the forts, both of which were long ago demolished, and nearly every vestige obliterated.

In the summer of 1899, the writer visited the first named place twice, and the latter once. For the exact position of Pickawillany, I am indebted to the venerable Major Stephen Johnston, of Piqua, who was born in the vicinity in 1812, and who has been familiar with the locality all his long life. In the second place, my thanks are due to Mr. C. B. Jamison, an attorney much given to historical research and who has made particular examination of the site.

Loramie's creek enters the Miami on the west side about three miles north of Piqua, and nearly a mile north of the farm-house formerly owned and long occupied by Col. John Johnston, who for about half a century was Indian agent for the United States government. This house is nearly a century old, and stands on the west bank of the Miami, twenty-five or thirty rods north of Fort Piqua, (built by Wayne in 1794,) and, as before said, at a greater distance from Fort Pickawillany.

About a hundred yards below the mouth of Loramie's creek, the bank of the river, here fifteen or twenty feet above low water, turns abruptly towards the west, and runs probably twenty rods or more before resuming its generally southern trend. On this shoulder of land just below the mouth of the creek stood Fort Pickawillany. It was made of logs which were set on end in trenches dug for the purpose,—a stockade, such as was built by

the score during the war of the rebellion from 1861 to 1865. A well was dug within the fort, which was erected late in the fall of 1750, and was destroyed by the French and Indians in June 1752, having stood about a year and a half;—and not *four* years as asserted by one historian.

Mr. Jamison says that when the ground is freshly plowed, it still shows discoloration from the disturbance of the soil in digging the trenches and the well. Mr. J. has many relics gathered on the site of the fort, and of the houses outside of the fort;—pieces of pottery and of table ware, and part of a fork which had rusted nearly away. It was an easy matter to find other relics of the household on the day of my visit. The site of the fort is then fully determined. In later years the Indian village extending from the river to the hills half a mile to the west, was called Upper Piqua, and was the scene of a sanguinary battle in 1763, participated in chiefly by Indians. A tribe of Indians living in the vicinity was called by the French, "Picqualinees". The English varied the spelling both of the tribe and of the village; Peccaway,—Pickaway, and two or three other ways. Lower Piqua, the site of the present city was sometimes called Chillicothe.

Fort Loramie was on the west side of the same creek about fifteen miles nearly northwest of Pickawillany, and about half a mile from the village of Berlin in the western part of Shelby county. The location is given in the map of the original survey of the land, made in 1819, and on record in the land office in Columbus. It was in the northeast quarter of section 10, township eight, south, range four east of the Miami meridian; and near the middle of the east line of the quarter section. It is also marked on the plat of the original survey of land south of the Greenville treaty line, made in 1800, long before the fort was destroyed. This plat is also on record in the land office. Every vestige of the fort itself seems entirely obliterated. A large stone in place is still shown as having been one of the foundations of a house built outside of the fort.

The farm house stands but a few feet from this rock, and a large barn a few rods away may possibly stand on the site of the old fort. The owner of the farm pointed out to me some graves in his garden, one of which was called the grave of General

Richard Butler, who was killed in St. Clair's defeat, November 4, 1791, at Fort Recovery, twenty miles away. [See note A at the end of this article.]

Now let us see what some of our histories say as to the location of these forts. In Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley, published in Toledo in 1872, on page 21, I find the following statements: "Late in that year (1750) a party of twenty-five persons from eastern Pennsylvania, built a station on the Great Miami, at the mouth of what is now known as Loramie's creek, sixteen miles northwest of Sidney, Shelby County. It was called Pickawillany. The place was not widely known until 1769, when a Canadian French trader, named Peter Loramie, established a store there. After his arrival the place was called Loramie's station. Clark attacked it in 1782. The site of Pickawillany and Loramie's store has never been rebuilt."

The mouth of Loramie's creek is nine miles southwest of Sidney, and Fort Loramie fifteen miles nearly northwest, at the beginning of the portage beween Loramie's creek and the head waters of the St. Mary's river. Clark attacked the Indian village at the mouth of the Loramie, and a detachment of his army made thence a night march to Loramie's station, fifteen miles away, looted the store and burned all the buildings, as is fully described in Howe's History of Ohio.

In a small historical work published in Cincinnati by Robert Clarke are the statements given below. The book is called the "Journal of Capt. Wm. Trent from Logstown to Pickawillany in 1752", edited by Mr. Goodman. Logstown was a few miles down the river from the site of Pittsburg, quoted variously from fourteen to twenty miles. Of course most readers of this article know that in 1752, there was neither town nor fort where that city now stands. In addition to the Journal of Capt. Trent, many brief narratives of other events are given. Here are the extracts already alluded to.

On p. 32, after stating that in the year 1750, certain Pennsylvanians had sent large presents to a tribe of Indians living on the Big Miami, the account says that in return therefor, the English had permission "to build a strong trading house at the town on the Miami at the mouth of Loramie's creek." [The creek

did not bear that name in 1750.] The book goes on to say that "The English in the fall of 1750, began the erection of a stockade, as a place of protection . . . . . when the main building was completed it was surrounded with a high wall of split logs, having three gateways. Within the enclosures the traders dug a well." . . . . . Christopher Gist was there in February 1751. . . . . [he says] . . . . . "on Feb 18 we walked about and viewed the fort which wanted some repairs" . . . . . "In June 1752 the French captured he fort." P. 54. "A Canadian trader, Peter Loramie, established a store at old Pickawillany . . . . . After his arrival the town was called Loramie's Station. . . . . Geo. Rogers Clarke in the fall of 1782, attacked the town, the store was looted and burned, and so all the other buildings. . . . . The site of Pickawillany and Loramie's Station has never been rebuilt." This last sentence is identical with the last sentence in the extract from Knapp's History. It is plain that one writer copied from the other, or both copied from some third source. Both accounts make Pickawillany and Loramie's Station occupy the same ground;—one account puts them 16 miles northwest of Sidney; the other, 9 miles southwest of the same city. But the two forts were not at the same place; and both histories are at fault.

In a foot-note on p. 84, it is stated that "on Evans's map, made in 1755, the fort [Pickawillany] was on the west bank of Loramie's creek, at its mouth." The map was right.

In a history of Darke county, p. 99, I find this statement: "This failure was not so bitter as the English effort to sustain their trading post in 1749, on the Great Miami, afterwards called Loramie's store. It pursued a feeble existence till 1752, when a French raid upon the Twightwees and the English colonists proved fatal." So this writer puts Loramie's store at the site of Pickawillany—the same error which was made by the editor of Trent's Journal.

In a history of Logan County I find the following statement: "A Canadian Frenchman named Loramie established a store on the site [Pickawillany]. . . . . A fort was built on the site of the store, by Wayne and named fort Loramie."

So this writer puts both forts and the store at the same point

on the Miami. From these four accounts who could tell where either of the forts stood? All four of the writers are wrong in some of their statements; and it is evident that no effort was made to ascertain the facts. What are such histories worth? In the new edition of Howe's History of Ohio, the facts are correctly stated under the heading "Shelby County."

NOTE A. In the body of this article it was incidentally remarked that the body of Gen. Butler was buried at Fort Loramie. Let us examine this claim. The remnant of St. Clair's army after the defeat was forced to retreat immediately, and was pursued by the Indians 10 or 12 miles from the battle ground. Three months after, i. e., about the 1st of February 1792, Gen. Wilkinson, who succeeded St. Clair in the command of the troops, sent a mounted force of about 500 men to bury the dead, and to recover the abandoned cannon, if possible.

Howe, under the head of "Mercer county", gives part of a letter written by Capt. Buntin to St. Clair. The Capt. was in the detachment which went to the battlefield. He says. "We found three whole carriages, the other five were so much damaged that they were rendered useless. [The cannon had been hidden by the Indians, but one of the pieces was dug up on the field in 1830.] By the general's orders pits were dug in different places, and all the dead bodies that were exposed to view, or could conveniently be found (the snow being very deep) were buried." McDowell a participant in the battel and in the burying party is quoted as saying, "Although the bodies were much abused and stripped of all of value, they recognized and interred them in four large graves. Gen. Butler was found in the shattered remains of his tent." We shall see further on this point presently.

In December 1793, more than two years after the battle, Wayne's forces buried the bones of others, "600 skulls being found among them." Inasmuch as about 900 had been killed, the first party had found only about one third of the dead, for they were covered by a deep snow and were scattered far and wide. There is direct testimony that the snow was nearly a foot deep.

The question arises even if Gen. Butler's body had been recognized, whether by any possibility, it could after burial have ever been again identified. The dead were buried in four large

pits, the position of three of those pits is unknown to this day. In 1851 after a heavy rain which washed the earth away from one of these pits disclosing a skeleton in the streets of Recovery, the place of one pit was ascertained, and about 60 skeletons were taken up and publicly buried; an account of the proceedings was published far and wide,—many of those who assisted in the sad rites are still living.

Under "Mercer County" Howe gives a sketch of the battle-field, of the encampment before the battle, of the place where the cannon was found in 1830, the spot where Gen. Butler was buried, etc. This last statement must be received with large allowance for error. The sketch was made by Mr. Huston, a surveyor of Celina, the county seat of Mercer. The sketch shows Butler's grave on the south side of a small creek running nearly west into the Wabash, and about 100 rods from that river. The creek borders on the south side of the battle ground. Mr. Huston claimed that the place was pointed out to him by the same Mr. McDowell before mentioned, who lived in the vicinity and died in 1847. I have had correspondence lately with Capt. John S. Rhodes of Fort Recovery, a resident of that vicinity for more than 55 years, and who knew McDowell well and often talked with him of the battle and its incidents. In reference to the place marked as the grave of Gen. Butler, as shown in Huston's map, the Capt. says, "The place on the bank of the creek you speak of, has come to my knowledge in the last thirty years." No one now knows whether it is one of the trenches dug in 1792, or is the burial place of the soldiers who fell in the two engagements around Fort Recovery in 1794. The Capt. further says, "He [McDowell] always said the body of General Butler could not be identified from the others, or it would have been placed in a grave by itself."

Remembering that the bodies of the soldiers had been stripped and in many cases mutilated, that they had been exposed to the weather and to the ravages of wild beasts and of fowls, for three months, and further, taking into consideration the above account of the inclemency of the weather, and the positive declaration of one who aided in the burial, it is evident that the body of Gen. Butler was never taken to fort Loramie, and that the story of his burial at that Fort has grown up from some other source.

And that source seems to be fairly set forth in some incidents related to Mr. Howe in 1846 by Col. Johnston before mentioned. Under the heading "Shelby" county, Howe says, speaking of Fort Loramie, "The last officer who commanded here was Col. Butler, nephew of Gen. Richard Butler, who fell at St. Clair's defeat." Says Col. Johnston, "His wife and children were with him during his command. A very interesting son of his, about eight years old, died at the fort. The agonized father and mother were inconsolable. The grave was enclosed with a very handsome and painted railing, at the foot of which honeysuckles were planted, grew luxuriantly, twined the paling, and finally enveloped the whole grave. Nothing could appear more beautiful than this arbor when in full bloom. The peace withdrew Capt. Butler and his troops to other scenes on the Mississippi. I never passed the fort without a melancholy thought about the lovely boy who rested there . . . . . the whole remained perfect until the war of 1812, when all was destroyed."

This historical incident then most probably gave rise to the story that Gen. Butler's grave is at Fort Loramie.

NOTE B.—Here is another statement which does not conform to the facts. Howe says, "The site of Loramie's store was a prominent point in the Greenville treaty boundary line." It was not in that line at all, and was more than half a mile away. In Article 3, of that treaty you find these words: "The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above fort Lawrence; thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio, and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery." [The Maumee, or Omee, was in the early part of this century called the Miami of the Lakes.]

Here it is plain that Loramie's store was not in the line, and the more certainly, because it had been destroyed by fire

nearly thirteen years before the treaty was made. The part of this boundary line, from the mouth of the Cuyahoga to the portage on Loramie's creek was not new. It was first given in the treaty with the Wyandots and the Delawares, made at Fort McIntosh on the Ohio, on the 21st of January 1785. It was repeated in the treaty made at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, January 9th 1789. These two treaties use almost identical words, the latter saying "to the portage on that branch of the Big Miami river which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood which was taken by the French in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty two." This fort you recognize as Pickawillany. Wayne seems to have tried to be more definite in marking the western end of the old boundary line, saying "a fork of that branch etc., ... thence westerly," etc. The word "thence" implies that the western extension of the line began where the eastern terminated. But there is a jog in the line, the portion running west begins at the old junction of Mile creek with Loramie's, while the terminus of the other part *was* and *is* nearly half a mile up the creek, in the direction of Fort Loramie. This fork is a mile below the place of the old fort, and the name of the subsidiary stream — Mile creek—indicates Wayne as the person responsible for such an appellation. His practical mind gave similar names to the creeks which he crossed in his march northward from Fort Hamilton,— Two Mile creek, Four Mile, Seven Mile, Fourteen Mile creek.— names which the streams still bear. The jog appears on all the maps in the land office at Columbus, and on the auditor's books in Sidney.

ROBERT CLARKE.

1829–1899.

Robert Clarke was a native of Annan, Dumfreeshire, Scotland, where he was born May 1st, 1829. He came with his parents to Cincinnati in 1840 and was educated in the public schools of Cincinnati and at Woodward College. For a short time he was bookkeeper for William Hanna and then followed his bent by becoming interested in a little second-hand book-store near the corner of 6th and Walnut streets.

The story of his subsequent life is the history of the famous Robert Clarke Company of which he was the founder. The origin of this firm dates back to the 50's when books were of less importance in the western community than were lumber, flat-boats and pork. Its birth-place was in the little second-hand book-store in Sixth street above mentioned, where Mr. Robert Clarke was one of the proprietors, and where he began his education in "Americana" that early made the firm an accepted authority on any question pertaining to American publications. In 1858 Robert Clarke & Co. assumed its firm name and succeeded H. W. Derby & Co. as book-sellers. From book selling to book publishing was and easy and natural step, and for nearly half a century the publication of books of the better class in all departments of literature has been carried on by this firm. In 1894 the partnership was incorporated as The Robert Clarke Company, with a board of directors composed of Robert Clark, R. D. Barney, John W. Daley, Howard Barney and Alexander Hill. The directors of this company were all members of the old firm.

The wonderful collection of American publications issued by this firm caused Justin Winsor in his "Narrative and Critical History" of America to say; "The most important American lists at present issued by American dealers are those of the Robert Clarke Company of Cincinnati."

Mr. Clarke was a constant reader and hard student all his life, not only of the contents of books, but a *connoisseur* of their form and exterior. He was not merely a successful bibliophile, but he was a veritable living cyclopedia on bibliography. It is doubtful

if any man in the United States was more thoroughly versed in the historical and bibliographical literature of this country. He edited Col. George Rogers Clark's "Campaign in Illinois, in -778-9." James McBride's "Pioneer Biographies," 1869, and Captain James Smith's "Captivity with the Indians," 1870. He was the author of a pamphlet on the Pre-historic remains which were found on the site of the City of Cincinnati, with a vindication of the Cincinnati Tablet," printed privately in 1876.

He had accumulated during his life time a carefully chosen library of 7,000 volumes of Americana; perhaps the largest and best private collection of the kind in the United States. This library a year or two ago was purchased by Mr. William A. Proctor, who presented it to the University of Cincinnati. Mr. Clarke was a typical representative of the book devotee, spending all the time which he could spare from his business interests, in the acquisition of and the reading of books on American subjects.

He was never married, and it may be truly said of him that his only love were the books among which he so fondly dwelt.

He was a man genial and gentle in disposition; quiet, modest and unassuming in manner. His acquaintances and friends were innumerable but his intimates were few. He cared not for position, political honors or wealth. His tastes and delights were intellectual. In the midst of a busy world of affairs and of progress he lived the disciple of books. His "library was dukedom large enough" for him. He held with the poet;

> * * * and books we know,
> Are a substantial world both pure, and good;
> Read these; with tendrils, strong as flesh and blood,
> Our pastimes and our happiness will grow."

Mr. Robert Clarke was one of the first life members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and from the date of his membership took a deep interest in its work and welfare. Its pursuits were along the lines that especially attracted and held his attention. He was elected a trustee at the annual meeting in February 1899. Only two days before his death in an extended conversation with Secretary Randall Mr. Clarke outlined some of the purposes he hoped to assist the Society in accomplishing. He died suddenly in the library at his home on August 27, 1899.